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# Dr. SAMUEL PARKER
## *LORD BISHOP*
OF
# OXFORD'S
# REASONS
FOR
# ABROGATING
THE
# TEST
Imposed upon All
## *MEMBERS* of *PARLIAMENT*.
*Anno* 1678. *Octob.* 30.

In these Words:

I A. B. *Do solemnly and sincerely, in the Presence of God, profess, testifie, and declare, That I do believe that in the Sacrament of the* Lord's Supper *there is not any* Transubstantiation *of the Elements of Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Christ, at, or after the Consecration thereof by any Person whatsoever; And that the Invocation or Adoration of the Virgin* Mary, *or any other* Saint, *and the Sacrifice of the Mass, as they are now used in the Church of* Rome, *are Superstitious and Idolatrous:*

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First Written for the *Author's* own satisfaction; *And now* Published for the Benefit of all others whom it may concern.

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*Re-Printed at* Holy-Rood-House, 1688.

LET THIS BE PRINTED.

SUNDERLAND P.

WHITEHALL,
*Decemb.* 10. 1687.

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I A. B. *Do ſolemnly and ſincerely, in the Preſence of God, profeſs, teſtifie, and declare, That I do believe that in the Sacrament of the* Lord's *Supper there is not any* Tranſubſtantiation *of the Elements of Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Chriſt, at, or after the Conſecration thereof by any Perſon whatſoever; And that the Invocation or Adoration of the Virgin* Mary, *or any other Saint, and the Sacrifice of the Maſs, as they are now uſed in the Church of* Rome, *are Superſtitious and Idolatrous:*

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*Re-Printed at* Holy-Rood-Houſe, 1688.

BRITISH MUSEUM

# REASONS FOR ABROGATING THE TEST.

THE *TEST* imposed upon all Members of Parliament, *October* 30. 1678. ought (I humbly conceive) to be repeal'd for these *Reasons*;

*First*, Because it doth not only diminish, but utterly destroy the natural *Rights* of *Peerage*, and turns the *Birth-right*

of the Engliſh *Nobility* into a *precarious* Title: So that what was in all former Ages only forfeited by *Treaſon*, is now at the mercy of every Faction or every Paſſion in Parliament. And therefore how uſeful ſoever the *Teſt* might have been in its ſeaſon, it ſome time muſt prove a very ill Precedent againſt the Rights of *Peerage*; for if it may be allow'd in any Caſe, there is no Caſe in which it may not be impoſed.

And therefore I remember that in the Firſt *Tranſubſtantiation*-Teſt, *Anno Dom.* 1673, the Rights of *Peerage* are [indeed according to conſtant Cuſtom] ſecur'd by Proviſo. *Provided always, that neither this Act, nor anything therein contained, ſhall extend, be judged, or interpreted any way to hurt or prejudice the* Peerage *of any* Peer *of this* Realm, *or take away any right, power, privilege or profit, which any perſon* [*being a* Peer *of this* Realm] *hath or ought to enjoy by reaſon of his* Peerage, *either in time of Parliament or otherwiſe.*

And in the Year 1675. when this Teſt or Oath of Loyalty was brought into the Houſe of Peers, *That it is not lawful upon any Pretence whatſoever to take up Arms againſt the King, and by his Authority againſt his*

*Perſon*

*Perſon, it was vehemently* proteſted againſt as a Breach of Privilege.

No body could except againſt the Matter of the Teſt it ſelf, much leſs the Nobility, who had generally taken it upon the account of their ſeveral Truſts in the Melitia. So that the only Debate was, Whether the very Propoſal of it, as a Qualification for a Right to ſit in Parliament, were not a Breach of the Fundamental Right of *Peerage*? And after ſome Debates upon the Point of *Peerage* it was, without ever entring into the Merits of the Cauſe it ſelf, thrown out by an Unanimous Vote of the Houſe, *April* 21. 1675. Before the putting of the Queſtion, this PROTESTATION is entred.

*A Bill to prevent the Dangers which may ariſe from Perſons diſaffected to the Government.*

'The Houſe reſolv'd into a Committee to 'conſider of it, and being reſum'd, the Que-'ſtion was put, whether this Bill does ſo far 'Intrench upon the Privileges of the Houſe, 'as it ought therefore to be caſt out? It was 'at firſt reſolved in the Negative with this 'Memorandum, that before the putting the 'abovesaid Queſtion, theſe Lords following

'deſired Leave to enter their Diſſents, if the 'Queſtion was carried in the Negative, and 'accordingly did enter their Diſſents as fol-'loweth.

'We, whoſe Names are underwritten, be-'ing Peers of this Realm, do according to our 'Rights, and the Ancient Uſage of Parlia-'ments, declare, that the Queſtion having 'been put, Whether the Bill, entituled *An 'Act to prevent the Dangers which may a-'riſe from Perſons diſaffected to the* Govern-'*ment*, does ſo far entrinch upon the Privi-'leges of this Houſe, that it ought therefore 'to be caſt out, it being reſolved in the Nega-'tive, We do humbly conceive, That any 'Bill which impoſeth an Oath upon the Peers 'with a penalty, as this doth, that upon the re-'fuſal of that Oath they ſhall be made uncap-'able of ſitting and voting in this Houſe: As 'it is a thing unpreſidented in former times, 'ſo is it in our humble Opinion the higheſt 'Invaſion of the Liberties and Privileges of 'the Peerage that poſſibly may be, and moſt 'deſtructive of the Freedom which they 'ought to enjoy as Members of Parliament.

'Becauſe the privilege of Sitting and Vot-'ing in Parliament is an Honour they have by 'Birth; and a Right ſo an inherent in 'em,

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'and inſeparable from 'em, as that nothing 'can take it away, but what by the Law of 'the Land muſt withal take away their Lives, 'and corrupt their Blood; upon 'which Ground, We do here 'enter our Diſſent from that 'Vote and our Proteſtation a-'gainſt it.

The Names of the Proteſting Peers to the number of 23. are to be ſeen in the Journal Book.

QUÆRE, How many of thoſe Noble Lords voted for the Teſt in 1678 and then, whether if they have preſerved their Rights of Peerage, they have preſerv'd its Honour too?

But the Debate was kept up many Days, till at laſt, *April* 30. 1675. it came to this Iſſue.

It was at laſt reſolved, *That no Oath ſhall by this Bill be impoſed*; and paſs'd into a general Order by the whole Houſe, *Nemine contradicente*, as followeth.

'Order'd by the Lords Spiritual and Tem-'poral in Parliament aſſembled, That no 'Oath ſhall be impoſed by any Bill or other-'wiſe, upon the Peers with a penalty in caſe 'of Refuſal to loſe their Places and Votes in 'Parliament, or liberty of Debates therein; 'and that this Order be added to the ſtanding 'Orders of this Houſe. *Secondly*,

*Secondly*, It ought to be repealed, because of its dishonourable Birth and Original; it being the First-born of *Oats*'s *Plot*, and brought forth on purpose to give Credit and Reputation to the perjury.

Now I should think that when the Villainy of that is so fully laid open to the World, it should not a little concern the Honour of the Nation, but very much concern the Honour and Wisdom of the House of *Peers*, to deface so great a Monument erected by themselves in honour of so gross an Imposture.

It is Shame enough to the present Age to have given any publick credit to so enormous a Cheat, and the greatest Kindness it can do it self, is to destroy, as much as may be, all the Records of Acts done by the Government to abett it.

What will Posterity judge of the present Nobility, to see such an Unprecidented Law, not only enacted upon so foul an Occasion; but after the Discovery of the Cheat, asserted with Heat and Zeal, though to Subversion of their own Fundamental Rights and priviledges?

Besides, the *Roman Catholick Peers* have suffered severely enough already by their own honourable House's giving Credit to so

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dull an Impoſture; And I think it is the leaſt Compenſation that they can in Honour make them, only to reſtore 'em to their natural Rights.

What will foreign Nations and future Ages think of the Injuſtice and Barbarity of the preſent Peerage, to ſuffer Engliſh Noblemen to be ſtript of the greateſt privilege of their Birth-right by ſo unheard of a Villainy? And when it is in their power to ſee their injur'd Peers redreſſed, that they ſhould not only ſuffer 'em to be ſo baſely robb'd of their Peerage, but ſhould for ever eſtabliſh and ratify the Fraud by Authority and force of Law.

This wou'd be an eternal National Reproach, and ſuch a Blot upon the Houſe of Peers, that no length of Time cou'd wear away; nothing but the Univerſal Conflagration could deſtroy.

T*hirdly*, It ought to be repealed, becauſe of the Incompetent Authority by which the Law was enacted: It is a Law of an Eccleſiaſtical Nature, made without the Authority of the Church, contrary to the practice of the Chriſtian World in all Ages, and indeed to our Saviours own Commiſſion, who ſetled all power of Government, and eſpecially the

Legiſlative (which is the higheſt Act of it) upon the Officers of his own Kingdom; ſo that for any other Order of Men, to aſſume the Exerciſe of any ſuch Authority to themſelves, is no leſs than to depoſe him from his Throne by diſowning, neglecting, and affronting his Commiſſion to his Catholick Church.

This power of making Decrees concerning Divine Verities, is the very Foundation upon which the whole Fabrick of the Chriſtian Church hath hitherto ſtood, and is to ſtand to the End of the World. For if it be once taken away, as here it is, there is no peculiar Government left to the Church it ſelf, and without Government there can be no Society, or Band of Union; and without that, there remains nothing but confuſion: So dangerous a Treſpaſs is it for the Temporal powers to entrench upon the Sacred Prerogative of the Holy Catholick Church.

The Civil power may reſtrain the Exerciſe of it, as they ſhall judge meet for the Ends of Peace, and the *Intereſt* of the Common-Wealth, and puniſh it too, at their own Diſcretion, if it ſhall any way preſume to entrench upon the power of the State.

But tho' it may prevent or correct Abuſes, yet it cannot uſurp the power it ſelf without

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manifeſt Sacrilege and Blaſphemy; in ſhort, this is ſuch a daring Invaſion of our Saviour's own Kingdom, that nothing more imports Chriſtian Kings and Governours, than to be wary and cautious how they lay Hands upon it.

Neither can it be pleaded this Law was conſented to by the Biſhops (to their ſhame) in the Houſe of Lords. For firſt, it being an Eccleſiaſtical Law, it ought to have been antecedently enacted by them, without any *Lay-concurrence*; and when they had firſt decreed it by their own proper Authority, Then, and not before then, was it lawful for the Parliament to take it into their conſideration, and as they judged fit, to abett it with temporal penalties.

Which practice (as I have before mentioned) was ever moſt religiouſly obſerved by all Chriſtian Kings and Princes, and never before violated, but by Apoſtates and Rebel Parliaments.

But then Secondly, The Biſhops ſit not in the Houſe of Lords as Biſhops, but as Temporal Barons, and ſo act not there by virtue of any power dirived from our Bleſſed Saviour but from the meer grace & favor of the King. And if they themſelves ſhould pretend to exerciſe any Eccleſiaſtical Authority in that

place, they would moſt ſcandalouſly betray, and as much as in 'em lyes, deſtroy the very Being of a Chriſtian Church, and profanely pawn the Biſhop to the Lord: Beſides that laſtly by the Law of *England* the Eccleſiaſtical Power is ſetled in Convocation; ſo that to Enact any thing of that Nature without their Conſent, is to betray the Rights of the Church of *England* as by Law eſtabliſhed in particular, as well as of the Church Catholick in general.

*Fourthly*, It ought to be repealed becauſe of the uncertainty and falſhood of the Matters contained in the Declaration it ſelf; as,

Firſt, *That there is no* Tranſubſtantiation *in the Sacrament of our* Saviour's *Body and Blood.*

And Secondly, *That the Invocation of Saints and the Mother of God is Idolatry*: Both which Propoſitions are by this Law to be ſolemnly and ſincerely in the Preſence of God profeſſed, teſtified, and declared, which in Conſcience is the ſame thing with a formal Oath, what ever it is in Law.

Now to oblige the whole Nobility of a Nation, to ſwear to the Truth of ſuch abſtruſe and uncertain Propoſitions, which they nether do nor can, nor indeed ought to underſtand,

derſtand, and this upon Penalty of forfeiting the Privileges of their Birth-right, is ſuch a monſtrous and inhumane Piece of Barbarity as could never have enter'd into the Thoughts of any Man, but the infamous Author of it, neither into his (as malicious as his Nature was) but in his fierce Purſuit of Princly Blood; for that was the only Deſign of all his Actions after the ſtarting of the *Oteſian* Villainy (of which this Teſt was the firſt *Sacrament*) to purſue and hunt down the Heir of the Crown, which all the World knows, and is now ſatisfied, he ſought by numberleſs Perjuries, tho' by nothing more than this Teſt, by which he ſtript his *Royal Highneſs* of the Guards of his moſt faithful Friends; and when he was left alone, it was an eaſie matter to come to his Perſon, and in him to the Monarchy; ſo that the very next thing that followed immediatly upon it, was the black Bill of Excluſion: And next to that it was the very Maſter-Piece of little *Achitophel*'s Wickedneſs. But to return to my Argument,

What is meant by *Tranſubſtantiation* is a thing altogether unknown and uncertain, eſpecially to the Perſons chiefly concerned, the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom: It

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is a Word and a Notion chiefly handled by the Schoolmen and Metaphysicians Skill, in whose Writings is the least part of a Gentlemans Education, their Learning is more polite and practicable in the civil Affairs of Humane Life, to understand the Rules of Honour and the Laws of their Country, the practice of Martial Discipline, and the Examples of great Men in former Ages, and by them to square their own Actions in their respective Stations, and the like; but for the Wars between *Scotus* and *Thomas Aquinas*, the *Nominalists* and the *Realists*, and the several Common wealths in the *Metaphysical* World, they are not more beyond than they are below their Knowledge, and yet these numberless Sects of Disputers do not quarrel and differ more about any one thing, than the Notion of *Transubstantiation*.

How unreasonable a thing then is it, to impose it upon the Nobility and Gentry of a whole Nation under Forfeiture of all their share in the Government, to abjure a thing that is morally impossible for them to understand? This seems too bold and profane an Affront to Almighty GOD, in whose Presence the Protestation is made; and only declares

clares that Men will ſwear any thing, they know not what, before the great Searcher of Hearts, rather than loſe any worldly Intereſt: and I dare appeal to the Honourable Members of both Houſes, if (when they conſider ſeriouſly with themſelves) they have any diſtinct Idea or Notion in their minds of the thing they here ſo ſolemnly renounce. I fanſie if every Man were obliged to give his account of it, what ever *Tranſubſtantiation* may be, it would certainly be *Babel*.

The two Fathers or rather Mid-wifes of the firſt Tranſubſtantiation *Teſt*, in the Year 1673. were the two famous *Burgeſſes* of *Oxon*, who brought it forth without ſo much as conſulting their learned *Univerſity*. How much the Gentleman Burgeſs underſtood, I can only gueſs; but I am very apt to believe, that his Brother the *Alderman*, (if the Tryal were made) cannot ſo much as pronounce the word, much leſs hammer out the Notion. In ſhort, there ſeems to be but a prophane Levity in the whole matter, and a ſhameleſs abuſe put upon God and Religion, to carry on the wicked deſigns of a Rebel Faction, as the Event hath proved.

But for the true ſtate of this Matter, I find my ſelf obliged to give a brief hiſtorical Account

count of the Riſe and Progreſs of this Controverſie of *Tranſubſtantiation*; which when I have done, the reſult and ſumm of the account will be, that there is no one thing in which Chriſtendom more both agrees and diſagrees. All parties conſent in the thing, and differ in the manner.

And here the Hiſtory will brench it ſelf into Two parts:

1. As the Matter is ſtated in the Church of *Rome*.

2. As it hath been determined in the *Proteſtant* Churches.

Where the firſt part will ſub-divide it ſelf into two other Branches.

*Firſt*, the Eccleſiaſtical account of the thing; that is, the Authoritative Definitions and Determinations of the Church about it. And,

*Secondly*, The Scholaſtick account, or the various Diſputes of the School-men among themſelves in their Cells and Cloyſters none of which were ever vouched by the Authority of the Church: And when I have repreſented the whole matter of Fact, I may ſafely leave it to the Honour & Wiſdom of the Nation to judge, whether of all things in the World *Tranſubſtantiation* be not the unfit-

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test thing in it to set up for a *State* TEST?

In the first place then it is evident to all Men, that are but ordinarily conversant in Ecclesiastical Learning, that the ancient Fathers, from Age to Age asserted the Real and Substantial Presence in very high and expressive terms. The Greeks stiled it, Μεταβολὴ, μεταῤῥύθμισις, μετασκευασμὸς, μεταποίησις, μεταστοιχείωσις.

And the Latins agreeable with the Greeks, *Conversion*; *Transmutation*, *Transformation*, *Transfiguration*, *Transelementation*. and at length, *Transubstantiation*: By all which they expressed nothing more nor less than the real and substantial Presence in the Eucharist.

But to represent their Assertions at large, would require much too long a Discourse for this short Essay. And therefore I shall only give an account of it from the time that it first became a controversie.

And the first Man that made it a publick Dispute, was *Berengarius*, Archdeacon of *Angers*, in the Eleventh Century, about the Year 1047. who pleaded in his own behalf, the Authority of a learned Man, *Johannes Scotus Erigena*, who passed without Censure in the Ninth Century; but, to pass him by, it is certain, that *Berengarius* publickly deny-

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ed the Doctrine of the Real and Substantial Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ, and resolved the whole Mystery into a mere Type and Figure; for this he is condemned of Heresie in the Year 1050, in a Council at *Rome*, under *Leo* the Ninth; and in the same Year, in a Synod at *Verselles*, and another at *Paris*; and afterwards by *Victor* the Second in the Year 1055. upon which *Berengarius*, in a Council held at *Tours*, in the same Year, submitted, and solemnly recanted his Opinion.

But soon relapsing, Pope *Nicholas* the Second, summons a Council at *Rome*, of 113 Bishops, in the Year 1059, where *Berengarius* abjures his Opinion in this form, *viz.* 'That he Anathematizes that Opinion, that 'asserts, That the Bread and Wine, after the 'Consecration upon the Altar, is only a Sacra-'ment, and not the true Body and Blood 'of our Lord *Jesus Christ*; and that it is not 'sensibly handled, and broke by the Priests 'hands, and so eaten by the Communicants. And this Declaration he seals with an Oath to the Blessed *Trinity* upon the *Evangelists*.

But upon the death of Pope *Nicholas*, or rather of King *Henry* the First of *France*, a vehe-

vehement Enemy of *Berengarius* his Doctrine, (who therefore had ſummoned the fore-mentioned ſeveral French Councils againſt him) *Berengarius* returns to his old Principles, and publickly juſtifies them, in writing, to the World. For which he is cenſured by ſeveral Provincial Councils.

But then *Gregory* the Seventh, ſucceeding in the Apoſtolick See, calls a Council at *Rome* in the Year 1078. in which *Berengarius* abjures again, much after the ſame form with the former abjuration. But Pope *Gregory* (not ſatisfied with the ſame general Confeſſion, of the *ſubſtantial Preſence*, that he had already eluded) in a ſecond Council, held the Year following, he impoſes this Form of *Recantation* upon him.

'I *Berengarius* believe in my heart, and 'confeſs with my mouth, that the things upon 'the Altar, by vertue of Prayer and Conſe-'cration, are changed into the true and pro-'per Fleſh and Blood of Chriſt, and are the 'true Body of Chriſt, that was born of a 'Virgin, and ſacrificed upon the Croſs, for 'the ſalvation of the World, and that ſits at 'the right hand of the Father; and the true 'Blood of Chriſt that was ſhed out of his 'ſide, not only as a Sacramental Sign, but

'in propriety of Nature, and reality of Sub-'ſtance.

This is indeed a pretty bold Aſſertion of the *ſubſtantial Preſence*; but as to the *Modus* of it, It is evident, that he durſt not venture to define it, as himſelf declares in his Commentaries upon the Goſpels, where after having recited ſeveral Opinions about it, he concludes, 'But theſe ſeveral ſurmiſes I ſhall not 'purſue, it is enough that the *ſubſtance* of the 'Bread and Wine are converted into the *ſub-'ſtance* of the Body and Blood of Chriſt; but 'as to the *Modus* of the converſion, I am not 'aſhamed to confeſs my Ignorance. And ſo ended this controverſie at that time; *Berengarius* ever after living peaceably; and about eight Years after dying in the Communion of the Church.

But about this time *Ariſtole*'s *Philoſophy* was brought into *Europe*, out of *Arabia*, as it was tranſlated into the *Arabick* Tongue by *Averroes Avicenna* and others, and out of them tranſlated into Latin; for the Greek Language was at that time utterly loſt in thoſe Weſtren parts of the World. This being then a mighty novelty, the School men, that were the only pretenders to Learning at that time, embraced it with a greedy and implicit

plicit Faith, ſuppoſing it the very *Goſpel* of all Philoſophick Knowledge; and therefore ſet themſelves to *mix* and *blind* it with the Doctrines of the Chriſtian Schools; and by its Rules and Maxims to Explain all the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith.

Among the reſt, he had one very odd Notion, ſingular to himſelf, from all the other Philoſophers of *Greece*, *viz.* That every *ſubſtance* was compounded of *matter* and *form*; and that theſe two were *really diſtinct* from one another; and then that the *quantity* of every Body was really diſtinct from the ſubſtance of it, and ſo diſtinct as to be *ſeparable* from it: And laſtly, That all other *Qualities*, *Accidents*, and *Predicaments* were founded not in the *Subſtance*, but in the *Quantity*; and therefore in all change of Affairs ever followed its Fortunes.

Now the Catholick Church having in *all* Ages aſſerted the *real* and *ſubſtantial Preſence*; Oh! ſay they (to ſhew their deep new Learning) That is to be underſtood in the *Ariſtotelian* way, by ſeparating the *form* of Bread from the *matter*; but chiefly by ſeparating the *inward ſubſtance* of Bread, from its *outward quantity*, and its *retinue of qualities*.

This was the Riſe of *Philoſophick* or *Scholaſtick Tranſubſtantiation*, that the *Quantity* and *Accidents* of the Bread are pared off from all the *Subſtance*, and ſhaped and moulded anew, ſo as to cover an humane Body: And after this they run into an infinite Variety of Diſputes and Hypotheſes among themſelves; ſo that till the laſt Age, it hath been the chief entertainment of all pretenders to Philoſophy in Chriſtendom.

*Rupertus* Abbot of *Dentſch*, a Village upon the *Rhine*, lying on the other ſide of the River, againſt the City of *Cologne*, a Man of great reputation for Learning in that Age, makes out the Philoſophy of the thing, *by the Union of the* Word, *or* Divine Nature, *that is* Omnipreſent *with the Bread and Wine; and it is that Unity* (ſays he) *that makes it one Body with that in Heaven: And withall, that it is as eaſie for our Saviour to aſſume or unite himſelf to one as the other*; *and when that is done, they are both one body, becauſe they are both his* Body. This was fine and curious, but not *Areſtotelian* enough for that Age; in which that Philoſophy was ſet up as the Standard of humane Wiſdom, by the *Beaux Eſprits*: Among theſe, *Petrus Abelardus* gain'd a mighty Name and Repu-

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tation for his skill in these new found Philosophick Curiosities; tho' otherwise a Man versed (much beyond the Genius of that Age) in polite Learning; but being of a proud and assumming Nature, he soon drew upon himself the Envy of the less Learned Monks; which cost him a long scene of Troubles, as he hath elegantly discribed them, in his Book of his own Persecutions.

But among many other singularities to maintain the separation of the *matter* from the *form*, and the *substance* from the *accidents* in the Sacrament of the Altar he is forced to make use of this shift, that upon the separation of the Substance, the Accidents that cannot subsist of themselves, are supported by the Air.

But then comes *Peter Lombard*, *Anno* 1040. Grand master of the Sentences, and the Father of the next race of School-men, who indeed proves the *real* and *substantial Presence* out of the Ancients; particularly St. *Austin* and St. *Ambrose*; but when he comes to explain the *manner* of it, whether it be a *formal* or *material* change whether the *substance* of the Bread and Wine be reduced into its first matter, or into nothing, and the like, his conclusion is, *definire* Lib. 4. dist. 10.

*non*

*non ſufficio:* 'I preſume not to determine; 'and therefore quitting theſe uncertain things 'this I certainly know from Authorities, *viz.* 'That the *ſubſtance* of the Bread and Wine, 'are *converted* into the *ſubſtance* of the Body 'and Blood of Chriſt; but as for the *manner* 'of the Converſion, we are not aſhamed to 'confeſs our Ignorance. But if you inquire in what ſubject the Accidents ſubſiſt, he anſwers problematically (*mihi videtur*) that they ſubſiſt without any ſubject at all.

But it was agreed in all Schools, that whatever became of the *Subſtance* the *Accidents* remained: and that all outward Operations termined there; and that only they were broken and eaten.

But as for the ſubſtance of the Bread and Wine, ſome were for its permanency with the ſubſtance of the Body and Blood, ſome for its Annihilation, ſome for phyſical Converſion. But then the Curioſities were kept in the Schools, where witty Men, for want of uſeful Imployment entertained and amuſed themſelves, with theſe fine ſubtleties of thought: But then they were confined within the Schools and never admitted ſo much as to ask the Authority of the Church.

In the next Age comes that young and active

ctive Pope, *Innocent* the Third, who ſucceeded to the See, *Anno* 1198 in the Thirty ſeventh Year of his Ages, having been made Cardinal in the twenty ninth.

In the Eighteenth Year of his Reign he ſummoned the famous *Fourth*, or great Council of *Lateran*, at which were preſent above 400 Biſhops, Metropolitans and Patriarchs, beſides Embaſſadors from all Princes in Chriſtendom, for recovery of the Holy Land, Extirpation of Hereſies, and for Reformation of the Church. In this Council the Word *Tranſubſtantiate* is firſt uſed in a Decree of the Church, to expreſs the real or ſubſtantial Preſence of the Body and Blood of Chriſt in the Sacrament, under the ſpecies of Bread and Wine: where, in the Decree againſt the Hereſie of the *Albigenſes*, who denied the *Real Preſence*, it is Enacted, 'That the Body and Blood of Chriſt, are really 'contained under the ſpecies of Bread and 'Wine: The *B*read being *Tranſubſtantiated* 'into the Body, and the Wine into the Blood, 'by the Power of God. But though the Council uſed the word to Expreſs the Myſtery, they did not ſo much as Define its Signification, much leſs the Nature of the thing. It was a word that at that time (it ſeems)

was

was in Faſhion, having been made uſe of by ſome of the more Polite Writers of the Age.

Some gave the honour of the Invention to *Paſchaſius Radbertus*, ſome to *Petrus Bleſenſis*, and ſome to others; but being a word in Vogue among learned Men, the Council made uſe of it as a Term of Art, inſtead of the old word, *Tranſelementation*, that had hitherto kept its poſſeſſion among both *Greek* and *Latins*.

It is pity the *Greek* Copy of this Canon is loſt, whereas all the reſt are preſerved: For if we had the *Greek* word that anſwered to the *Latin*, it might have given us ſome more light into the thing. However, this was all that was defined by *Innocent* the Third, or by the Council of *Lateran*; for it is much diſputed by learned Men, who was the *Author* of thoſe Canons, many contending that they were drawn up after the Council, becauſe they often quote, and appeal to its Decrees.

This is the chief Argument of the Learned and the Loyal *William Barclay*, and others againſt them. But if theſe learned Men had conſidered a little further, and looked back to the Third Council of *Lateran*, they would have found all the Canons cited in

in this extent in that: So that only ſome Canons of the Third Council, are revived and ratified in this Fourth: and after the clearing of this Objection, I can ſee no other material Exception againſt them.

But to proceed; this word having gain'd the Authority of ſo great a Council, and being put into the Decretals of the Church, by *Gregory* the Ninth, in honour of his Uncle *Innocent* the Third, it ſoon gained univerſal uſage among the Latins, and was adopted into the Catalogue of *School Terms*; and was there hammer'd into a thouſand Shapes and Forms, by thoſe Maſters of Subtlety: And upon it St. *Thomas of Aquin* erects a new Kingdom of his own, againſt the old *Lombardian* Empire; but long he had not Reigned, when *Scotus*, our ſubtle Country-man, ſet up againſt him. And whatever St. *Thomas of Aquin* aſſerted, for that reaſon only, he contradicted him: ſo that they two became the very *Cæſar* and *Pompey* of the Schools, almoſt all the great Maſters of Diſputation from that time, fighting under one of their commands; and what intelligible Philoſophy both parties vented about the *Subſtantial* or *Tranſubſtantial Preſence*, upon ſuppoſition of the real difference between Matter and Form,

Form, Subſtance and Accidents, would be both too nice and too tedious to recite; only in general the *Thomiſts* maintain the *Tranſmutation* of the Elements; the *Scotiſts*, the *Annihilation*; and they proceed to abſtract ſo long till they could not only ſeparate the Matter and Form, and Accidents of the Bread from one another, but the *Paneity* or Breadiſhneſs it ſelf from them all, and founded a new *Utopian* World of Metaphyſick and Specifick Entities and Abſtracts.

Thus far I have, as briefly as I can, repreſented the Scholaſtick Hiſtory of this Argument; in which the Authority of the Church is not at all concerned; having gone no farther than to aſſign or appropriate a word to ſignifie ſuch a thing; but all along declaring the Thing it ſelf to be beyond the compaſs of a Definition. I know 'tis commonly ſaid, that the Council of *Trent* hath preſumed to define the *Modus*; and learned Men (I know not by what fatal over-ſight) take it up on truſt one from another; and the Definition is generally given in theſe Terms: That,

Tranſubſtantiation is wrought by the *Annihilation* of the ſubſtance of the Bread and Wine, the Accidents remaining: To the which Annihilation ſucceds the Body and Blood

Blood of Chriſt, under the Accidents of Bread and Wine.

So the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Wincheſter* repreſent it; ſo Mr. *Alix*, and the Writers of his Church, and not only ſo but contrary to the ſence of all other Churches, they confound the *Real Preſence* with *Tranſubſtantiation*, as this learned Man hath done through his whole Diſputation upon it, uſing the very words promiſcuouſly (as indeed all the modern Followers of *Calvin* do) and charging the ſame abſurdities upon both, and imputing the firſt Invention of the Real Preſence to *Nicolas* the Second, and *Gregory* the Seventh, in their Decrees againſt *Berengarius*. But I cannot but wonder how ſo many learned Men ſhould with ſo much aſſurance fanſie to themſelves, ſuch a Definition in the *Trent* Council, of the *Modus* of Tranſubſtantiation, by the *Annihilation* of the Subſtance, and the Permanency of the Accidents, when the Fathers of that Council were ſo far from any ſuch Deſign, that they Deſign'd nothing more carefully, than to avoid all Scholaſtick Definitions. The ſubtil Diſputes about the *Modus exiſtendi* (as they termed it) between the *Dominicans* and *Franciſcans* in that Council are deſcribed at large by Father

Father *Paolo* himself in the fourth Book of his History. But withal, he says, they were extreamly Displeasing and Offensive to the Fathers, but most of all to the NUNCIO himself; and therefore it was resolved in a General Congregation to determine the Matter in as few and general Terms as possible, to offend neither Party, and avoid Contentions; and when, notwithstanding this Decree, they fell into new Disputes, they are check'd by the Famous Bishop of *Bitunto*, who was one of the chief Compilers of the Canons, telling them they came thither to condemn Heresies, not to define Scholastick Niceties. And accordingly in the very First chapter of the 13*th* Session, in which this Article was defined, when they determined the Real Presence; they at the same time declare the *Existendi Ratio* to be ineffable; and in the 4*th* chapter, where *Transubstantiation* is decreed, the Canon runs thus: That,

'By the Consecration of the Bread and 'Wine, there is a Conversion of the whole 'Substance of the Bread into the Substance 'of the Body of Christ, and of the whole 'Substance of the Wine into the Substance 'of his Blood, which Conversion is fitly and 'pro-

'properly called by the Holy Catholick Church, *Tranſubſtantiation*.

In all which the Council only appropriates the Word *Tranſubſtantiation* to expreſs the Real Preſence, which it had before determined in the Firſt Chapter, not to be after a natural way of Exiſtence, as Chriſt ſits at the right Hand of God, but Sacramental, after an ineffable manner.

Tho' here ſome peeviſhly object, the Inconſiſtence of the Council with it ſelf, when it declares, that the thing is inexpreſſible and yet appropriates a word to expreſs it: Whereas all Chriſtendom knows that the Proceſſion of the Eternal Word from the Father is Ineffable, and yet is expreſſed by the Word *Generation*; and that the Union of the Divine and Humane Nature is ineffable, and yet is called the *Hypoſtatical Union*; and that the Unity in the *Trinity* is ineffable, and yet is expreſſed by the Word *Conſubſtantial*: So that this Council ſeems to have defin'd no more than the Council of *Nice* did in the Doctrine of the Bleſſed Trinity, in expreſſing the Unity of the Three Perſons by the Word ὁμοσία and the diſtinction by the Word ὑπόστασις, which amounted to no more than this, That as it is certain from the Holy Scriptures

Scriptures that in the Unity of the God-head there is a Trinity, ſo the Holy Fathers to avoid the Niceties of contentious Men, ſuch as *Arius* was determine that for the Time to come the Myſtery ſhall be expreſſed by the Terms ὁμοσία and ὑπόστασις; but as for any Philoſophical Notion of the Myſtery, the Church never preſum'd to define it, and this is the Definition of the Council of *Trent*, of the Real Preſence, that there is a Converſion of the Subſtances under the Species or Appearances of Bread and Wine, which the Church hath thought convenient to expreſs by the word *Tranſubſtantiation*.

And yet tho the Council approve the Word, yet it does not impoſe it, it only declares it to be convenient, but no where ſays 'tis neceſſary. And as for the Term Converſion, it is much older than the Word Tranſubſtantiation, familiarly uſed by the Ancient Fathers; and ſo is the Word Species: I know indeed it is uſual with School-Men and Proteſtant Writers to tranſlate the Words under Species of Bread and Wine, by theſe Words, under the Accidents of Bread and Wine, as particularly the late Biſhop of *Durham* and *Winchester* have done. But this is to impoſe Philoſophick Nicities upon the Decrees of the Church.

And

And tho perhaps all the Fathers of the Council believed the Reality of the New ſubſtantial Preſence under the Old Accidents, yet they had more Temper and Diſcretion than to Authoriſe it by conciliar Determination, and therefore uſe only the Word Species (and no other Word is uſed by *Nicolas* II, *Gregory* VII, and *Innocent* III, that are thought the Three great Innovators in the Argument of the Real Preſence) that properly ſignifies Appearance, but nothing of Phyſical or Natural Reality, ſo that tho the Preſence under the Species be Real, yet as the Council hath defined it, it is not Natural but Sacramental, which Sacramental Real Preſence they expreſs by the Word *Tranſubſtantiation*, and recommend the Propriety of the Word to the Acceptance of Chriſtendom.

This is the ſhort Hiſtory of the Real Preſence in the Church of *Rome*, where, as far as I can diſcern, the thing it ſelf hath been owned in all Ages of the Church, the *Modus* of it never defined, but in the Schools, and tho they have fanſied Thouſand Definitions to themſelves, their Metaphyſicks were never admitted unto the Church. And ſo I proceed to give an Account of it, as it hath been

been defin'd in the Protestant Churches, where we shall find much the same Harmony of Faith, and Discord of Philosophy as in the Church of *Rome*.

And first we must begin with the famous Confession of *Ausburg*, that was drawn up by *Melancthon*, and in the Year 1530 presented to *Charles* the Fifth, by several Princes of *Germany*, as a Declaration of the Faith of the first Reformers, and as the only true Standard of the Ancient Protestant Religion.

The Confession consists of Two Parts.

I. What Doctrines themselves taught.
II. What Abuses they desired to be reformed.

As to the latter, the Emperor undertook to procure a General Council.

As to the former, particularly this Article of the *Presence in the Sacrament*, they have published it in two several forms: In the *Latin* Edition it is worded thus: 'Concer-'ning the *Lord's Supper* we teach, That the 'Body and Blood of Christ are there present 'indeed, and are distributed to the Receivers 'at the Lords Supper; and condemn those

'that

'that teach otherwise. In the *German* Edi'tion it is worded thus: 'Concerning the '*Lord's Supper* we teach, that the true Bo'dy and Blood of Chriſt are truly preſent in 'the Supper, under the ſpecies of Bread and 'Wine, and are there diſtributed and received. And in an Apology written by the ſame hand, and publiſhed the Year following, it is thus expreſſed: 'We believe, That in 'the Supper of our Lord, the Body and 'Blood of Chriſt are really and ſubſtantially 'preſent, and are exhibited indeed with thoſe 'things, that are ſeen, the *Bread* and *Wine*. 'This belief our Divines conſtantly maintain 'and we find, not only the Church of *Rome* 'hath aſſerted the Corporeal Preſence, but 'that the *Greek* Church hath anciently, as 'well as at this time, aſſerted the ſame; as appears by their *Canon Miſſæ*.

The ſame Author explains himſelf more at large in his Epiſtle to *Fredericus Myconius*. 'I ſend you (ſays he) the paſſa'ges out of the Ancients, concerning the 'Lord's Supper, to prove, that they held 'the ſame with us; namely, That the Body 'and Blood of our Lord are there preſent in'deed. And after divers Citations he con'cludes, 'That ſeeing this is the expreſs

'Doctrine of the Scriptures, and constant 'Tradition of the Church, I cannot conceive 'how, by the Name of the Body of Christ, 'should only be understood the sign of an ab-'sent Body: for though the Word of God 'frequently makes use of Metaphors, yet 'there is a great difference to be made be-'tween *Historical Relations*, and *Divine In-'stitutions*. In the first, matters transacted 'among Men, and visible to the Sence are re-'lated; and here we are allow'd, and often 'forced to speak figuratively: But if in Divine 'Precepts, or Revelations, concerning the 'Nature or the Will of God, we should take 'the same liberty; Wise Men cannot but fore-'see the Mischiefs that would unavoidably 'follow. There would be no certainty of any 'Article of Faith. And he gives an instance in the Precept of Circumcision to *Abra-ham*: that upon those Terms the good Patri-arch might have argued with himself, That God never intended to impose a thing so seem-ingly absurd, as the Words sound; and that therefore the Precept is to be understood on-ly of a figurative or metaphorical Circumci-on; the Circumcision of our Lusts. So far this Learned Reformer.

Now the Authority of *Melancthon* weighs more

more with us of the Church of *England*, (as the learned Dr. *St.* (*Conference p.* 119.) very well obſerves) that in the ſettlement of our Reformation, there was no ſuch regard had to *Luther* and *Calvin*, as to *Eraſmus* and *Melancthon*, whoſe Learning and Moderation were in greater Eſteem here, than the fiery ſpirits of the other; and yet few Writers have aſſerted the Subſtantial and Corporeal Preſence in higher Terms than this moderate Reformer; and though he may ſometimes have varied in Forms of Speech, he continued conſtant and immovable in the Subſtance of the ſame Doctrine.

For in the Confeſſion of the *Saxon* Churches (at the Compiling of which he was chief Aſſiſtant) drawn up in the Year 1551, to have been preſented to the Council of *Trent*; a true and ſubſtantial Preſence is aſſerted, during the time of the Miniſtration. 'We teach '(ſay they) That Sacraments are Divine 'Inſtitutions; and that the things themſelves 'out of the uſe deſign'd are no Sacraments; 'but in the uſe, Chriſt is verily and ſubſtantially preſent; and the Body and Blood of 'Chriſt are indeed taken by the Receivers.

There ſeems to have been one ſingular Notion in this Confeſſion, That the Real and

Substantial Presence lasts no longer than the Ministration; but that is nothing to our Argument, as long as a Substantial Presence is asserted.

In the Year 1536, an Assembly of the Divines of the *Ausburg* Confession on one side, and the Divines of *Upper Germany* on the other, conveen'd at *Wirtemberg*, by the procurement and mediation of *Bucer*, who undertook to moderate between both Parties; where they agreed in this form of 'Confession. 'We believe according to the 'words of *Irenæus*, That the *Eucharist* 'consists of two things, the one Earthly the 'other Heavenly; and therefore believe and 'teach, That the Body and Blood of Christ 'are truly and substantially exhibited and re-'ceived with the Bread and Wine. This is subscribed by the chief Divines of both Parties, and approved dy the *Helvetian* Ministers themselves.

The *Bohemian Waldenses* in their Confession of Faith presented to *Ferdinand*, King of the *Romans* and *Bohemia*, declare expressly, that the Bread and Wine, are the very *Body* and *Blood* of Christ; and that Christ is in the Sacrament with his Natural *Body*, but by another way of Existence than at the Right-hand of God. In

In the *Greek* Form of Conſecration, this Prayer was uſed: *Make this* Bread *the pretious* Body *of thy Chriſt*; *and that which is in this* Cup, *the precious* Blood *of thy Chriſt, changing them by they Holy Spirit*; which words are taken out of the Liturgies of St. *Chryſoſtom* and St. *Baſil*.

And *Jeremias* the Learned *Patriarch of Conſtantinople*, in his Declaration of the Faith of the *Greek* Church in Anſwer to the *Lutherian* Divines affirms *That the Catholick Church believes, that after the Conſecration the Bread is changed into the very Body of Chriſt, and the Wine into the very Blood, by the Holy Spirit.*

In the Year 1570, was held a Council in *Poland* of the Divines of the *Ausburg*, the *Helvetian*, and the *Bohemian* Confeſſions, in which they agreed in this Declaration. As to that unhappy controverſie of the *Supper of our Lord*, we agree in the Sence of the Words, as they are rightly underſtood by the Fathers, particularly by *Irenæus*, who affirms, that the Myſtery conſiſts of two things, one Earthly, and another Heavenly. Neither do we affirm, that the Elements and Signs

are meer naked and empty Things signified to Believers.

But to speak more clearly and distinctly, we agree that we believe and confess the substantial Presence of Christ is not only signified to Believers, but is really held forth, distributed and exhibited, the Symbols being joined with the thing it self, and not meerly naked, according to the nature of Sacraments. This Confession was confirmed at several times, by several following Synods in the same Kingdom, at *Cracow* 1573, at *Peterkaw* 1578. at *Wathoff* 1583.

The first Man that opposed the real and substantial Presence was *Carolostadius*, Archdeacon of *Wirtenberg*, of whom the candid and ingenious *Melancthon* gives this Character: That he was a furious Man, void both of Wit, Learning, and common Sence, not capable of any Act of Civility or good Manners; so far from any appearances of Piety, that there are most manifest Footsteps of his Wickedness. He condemns all the Civil Laws of the Heathen Nations as unlawful, and would now have all Nations governed by the judicial Law of *Moses*, & embrac'd the whole Doctrine of the *Anabaptists*.

He sets up the controversie about the Sacrament

craments against *Luther*, meerly out of Envy and Emulation, not out of any Sence of Religion, and much more to the same purpose: The Truth of all which (he says) a great part of *Germany* both can and will attest. Tho the greatest proof of his Levity is his own Writing, when all that Disorder and Schism that he made in the Church, of which he profess'd himself a Member, was founded upon no better bottom than this slender Nicety, That when our Saviour said this is my Body, he pointed not to the Bread but to himself.

But in this he is vehemently opposed by his Master *Luther*, in behalf of a true Corporal Presence, especially in his Book *Contra Cœlestes Prophetas seu Fanaticos*; wherein he lays down this Assertion, 'That by the 'Demonstrative Pronoun *hoc*, Christ is de-'clared to be Truly and carnaly present with '' is Body in the Supper, and that the Com-'munication of the Body of Christ, of which 'St. *Paul* speaks, is to eat the Body of Christ 'in the Bread; neither is that Communion 'Spiritual only but corporeal, as it is in the 'personal Union of Christ: So we are to con-'ceive of the Sacrament in which the Bread 'and Body make up one thing, and after an in-

'incomprehensible manner, which no reason 'can Fathom, become one Essence or Masse 'from whence, as Man becomes God, so the 'Bread becomes the Body.

And in a Sermon preached by him the same Year at *Wirtenberg*, against the Sacramentarian Hereticks as he calls them: 'The 'Devil opposes us by his *Fanatick Emissaries* 'in the blaspheming the Supper of our Lord, 'that dream the *Bread* and Wine are there 'only given as a Sign or *Symbol* of our Chri-'stian profession, nor will allow that the Bo-'dy and Blood of Christ are there present 'themselves tho the words are expres's and 'perspicuous; *Take, eat, this is my body.* In this controversie he was engaged all his Life, against *Carolostadius*, and other *Apostates* from the *Ausburg* confession, giving them no better Titles than of Fanatick, Hereticks, betrayers of Christ, blasphemers of the Holy Ghost, and Seducers of the World.

And in his last book against the Divines of *Lovian* in the Year 1545, the Year before his Death, he makes this solemn Declaration, 'We seriously believe the *Zuinglians*, and all '*Sacramentarians*, that deny the Body and 'Blood of Christ to be received *Ore carnali*, 'in the blessed Sacrament, to be *Hereticks*, 'and no Members of the Church of Christ:

So

So that hitherto it is evident, That the whole Body of the true Old Protestants, both in their publick confessions and private writings, unanimously asserted the corporeal and substantial Presence, as they use the Words promiscously.

As for the *Calvinian* Churches, *Grotius* hath observed very truly, that the *Calvinists* express themselves in a quite different Language, in their confessions, from what they do in their Disputations, where they declare themselves more frankly. In their confessions they tell you, That the Body and Blood of Christ, are taken Really, Substantially, Essentially: but when they come to Discourse 'em closer, the whole business is Spiritual, without Substance, only with a signifying Mystery; and all the reality is turned into a receiving by Faith; which, says he, is a perfect contradiction to the Doctrine of the whole Chatholick Church.

So they declare in the Conference at *Presburg*, with the *Lutherians*, that in the Sacrament, Christ indeed gives the Substance of his Body and Blood by the working of the Holy Ghost.

And when *Luther* signify'd to *Bucer*, his Jealousie of the Divines of *Strasburg* and *Bazil*,

*Bazil*, as if they believed nothing to be present in the Sacrament, but the Bread and Wine. *Bucer* returns this Answer, in the name, and with the consent of all his Brethren; 'This is their Faith and Doctrine concerning 'the Sacrament, That in it, by the Institution and Power of our Lord, his true Body 'and his true Blood are indeed exhibited, 'given and taken, together with the visible 'Signs of Bread and Wine, as his own Words 'declare. This is the Doctrine not only of '*Zuinglius*, and *Oecolampadius*, but the 'Divines of *Upper Germany* have declared 'the same, in their publick confessions and 'Writings.

'So that the Difference is rather about the 'manner of the Absence and Presence, than 'about the Presence or Absence themselves.

And the Reformed *French Church* in the year 1557. declare themselves much after the same manner, to a Synod of Reform'd *German* Divines, held at *Wormes*. We confess that in the *Supper of our Lord*, not only all the Benefits of Christ, but the very substance of the Son of Man, the very Flesh, and the very Blood that he shed for us, to be there not meerly signify'd, or Symbolicaly, Typically,

Typically, or Figuratively, as a Memorial of a thing absent, but truly held forth, exhibited and offered to be received, together with the *Symbols*, that are by no means to be thought naked, which by virtue of God's Promise, always have the thing it self truly and certainly conjoin'd with them, whether they are given to the good or to the bad.

But what need of more Witnesses, when *Calvin* himself, the very *Urim* and *Thummim* of the *Calvinian* Churches, declares his Sence in these expres's Words. 'I affirm 'that Christ is indeed given by 'the *Symbols* of *Bread* and 'Wine and by consequence his 'Body and Blood, in which he fulfilled all 'Righteousness for our Justification, and as 'by that, we were ingrafted into his Body, 'so by this are we made Partakers of his sub-'stance, by Virtue of it we feel the Commu-'nication of all good things to our selves. Instirut. Book 4. cap. 17. Sect. 11.

'But as to the *Modus*, if any 'Man inquire of me, I am not a-'shamed to confess that the Mystery is too 'sublime for my Wit to comprehend, or to 'express; and to speak freely, I rather feel 'than understand it, and therefore here with-'out controversie I embrace the Truth of 'God Sect. 32.

'God, in which I am sure I may safely ac-
'quiesce. He affirms that his Flesh is the
'Food of my Soul, and his Blood the Drink.
'It is to these Aliments that I offer my Soul
'to be nourished. He commands me in his
'*Holy Supper*, under the Symbols of Bread
'and Wine to take, eat, and drink, his Body
'and Blood, and therefore I doubt not but he
'gives it. Here, besides the express Words
themselves, if there be so much Mystery in
the thing as he affirms, there is much more
than meer Figure.

And in another Passage he thus expresses himself. 'That God doth not trifle in vain
'Signs, but does in good earnest perform
'what is represented by the Symbols, *viz.*
'the Communication of his Body and Blood,
'and that the Figure conjoined with the Rea-
'lity, is represented by the Bread, and the
'Body of Christ is offered and exhibited with
'it, the true Substance is given us, the Reali-
'ty conjoined with the Sign, so that we are
'made Partakers of the Substance of the
'Body and Blood. This is express enough.

But yet in his book *de Cœna Domini*, he declares his Sence much more fully.

'If notwithstanding (saith he) it be en-
'quired whether the Bread be the *Body*, and
the

'the Wine the Blood of Christ; I answer, 'that the Bread and Wine are the visible 'Signs that represent the Body and Blood, 'and that the Name of the Body and Blood 'is given to them, because they are the In-'struments by which our Lord Jesus Christ 'is given to us.

'This form of Speech is very agreeable to 'the thing it self, for seeing the Communion 'that we have in the Body of Christ is not 'to be seen with our Eyes, nor comprehended 'by our Understandings, yet 'tis there mani-'festly exposed to our Eye-sight; of which 'we have a very proper Example in the same 'case: When it pleaseth God that the Ho-'ly Ghost should appear at the Baptism of 'Christ he was pleased to represent it under 'the appearance of a Dove; and *John* the '*Baptist*, giving an Account of the Transacti-'on, only relates that he saw the Holy 'Ghost descending; so that if we consider 'rightly we shall find that he saw nothing but 'the *Dove*, for the Essence of the *Holy* '*Ghost* is invisible: But he knowing the Vi-'sion not to be a vain Apparition, but a 'certain Sign of the Presence of the *Holy* '*Ghost* represented to him in that manner, 'that he was able to bear the Representation.

'The

'The same thing is to be said in the Communion of our Saviour's Body and Blood, 'that it is a Spiritual Mystery, neither to be 'beheld with Eyes, nor comprehended with 'humane Understanding, and therefore is 'represented by Figures and Signs, that (as 'the weakness of our Nature requires) fall 'under our Senses, so as 'tis not a bare and 'simple Figure, but conjoyn'd with its Reality and Substance: Therefore the Bread 'is properly called the Body, when it doth 'not only represent it, but also brings it to 'us.

'And therefore we will readily grant, That 'the Name of the Body of Christ may be 'transferr'd to the Bread, because it is the 'Sacrament and Emblem of it; but then we 'must add, that the Sacrament is by no means 'to be separated from the Substance and Reality.

'And that they might not be confounded, 'it is not only convenient, but altogether necessary, to distinguish between them, but 'intollerably absurd to divide one from the 'other. Wherefore when we see the visible 'Sign what it represents, we ought to reflect 'from whom it is given us, for the Bread is 'given as a Representation of the Body

'of

of Christ, and we are commanded to eat it.

'It is given, I say, by God, who is infallible Truth, and then if God cannot deceive nor lye, it follows that he in reality gives whatever is there represented: And therefore it is necessary that we really receive the 'Body and Blood of Christ, seeing the Communion of both is represented to us.

'For to what purpose should he command 'us to eat the Bread and drink the Wine, as 'signifying his Body and Blood, if without 'some spiritual Reality we only received the 'Bread and Wine? Would he not vainly 'and absurdly have instituted this Mystery, 'and as we *Frenchmen* say, by false Representations?

'Therefore we must acknowledge that if 'God gives us a true Representation in 'the Supper, that the invisible Substance 'of the Sacrament is joyned with the visible 'Signs, and as the Bread is distributed by 'hand, so the Body of Christ is communicated to us to be Partakers of it. This certainly, if there were nothing else, ought abundantly to satisfy us, when by it we understand, that in the Supper of our Lord,

'Christ

'Christ gives us the true and proper Sub-'stance of his Body and Blood.

Thus far *Calvin*: And I think it is as high a Declaration of the Real and Substantial Presence, as I have met with any Author whatsoever. And if in any other Passages the great Dictator may have been pleased to contradict himself, that is, the old *Dictatorian Prerogative* of that Sect, as well as the old *Romans*, That what ever Decrees they made, however inconsistent, they were always Authentick.

Neither doth *Beza* at all come short of his adored Master in the Point of substantial Presence: In his book against *Westphalus* a Sacramentarian, *de Cœna Domini*. He declares freely that the τὸ ἰσλὸν, or grammatical Sence of our Saviour's Words, *This is my Body*, cannot be preserved without *Transubstantiation*, and that there is no Medium between *Transubstantiation* and a meer *Figure*: And yet the whole Design of the book, is to prove the real Presence in the Sacrament, in opposition to the *Figurative*.

And in the Year 1561, The Protestant Churches of *France* held a Synod at *Rochel*, and the Year following at *Nimes*, in both which

which *Beza* sat as President, where the substantial Presence was maintained, and defin'd with great Vehemence against the Innovators (as they were then esteemed;) for when *Morellus* mov'd to have the Word *Substance* taken out of their Confession of Faith, *Beza* and the Synod, not without some Indignation, decree against them.

This Decree *Beza* declares in his Epistle to the Ministers of *Zurick*, dated *May* the 17*th*. 1572, to extend to the Protestants of *France* only, lest they who were *Zuinglians* should take Offence at it as a Censure particularly designed against themselves.

But the highest Declaration of the *French* Protestants is that sent by their Embassadors to the *German* Divines assembled at *Wormes Anno* 1557. in which Business *Beza* was chief Mannager. *We confess*, say they, *that in the Supper of our Lord, not only all the Benefits of Christ, but the very* Substance of the Son of Man, *the very* real Flesh, *the very Blood that he shed for us, not only to be signified or* Symbolically, Typically, *or* Figuratively *to be proposed as the Memorial of a thing absent, but to be truly represented, exhibited and offered to*

*be received; the Symbols by no means to be thought naked, being annexed, which because of the Promise and Engagement of God; always have the thing it self truly and certainly conjoyn'd, whether given to the Good or to the Bad.*

But these Civilities and Condescentions, were made in their low Ebbs of Fortune: For when ever they could flatter themselves with any Advantage of Interest, no Accomodations would serve their Turn. Thus at the famous Conference at *Poissy*, before *Charles* the Ninth, *Anno* 1591, where they supposed themselves warm, and powerful enough, by the favour of the Queen Mother (who supported them for her own Ends of State) and some great Ministers of State, who (by the way) soon after proved Rebels, I mean *Coligny* and his Faction; *Beza*, who was the chief manager in behalf of the Protestants runs high in his Demands. 'As to the 'Eucharist, *says he*, the Body of Christ is 'as far distant from it, as the highest Heaven 'from the Earth: For our selves and the Sa'craments are upon the Earth, but Christ's 'Flesh is in Heaven so glorified, that it hath 'not lost the Nature, but the Infirmity of 'a Body. So that we are Partakers of his

'Body

'Body and Blood only after a Spiritual way,
'or by Faith.

This boldneſs highly offended the Queen, and therefore he afterward endeavoured to excuſe himſelf by Palliations and ſoftning Expreſſions; but after all, to avoid farther Equivocation, he is hardly preſſed to it by the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, whether they would ſtand to the Confeſſion of *Ausburg*. *Beza* demurs and conſults *Calvin*, *Calvin* deſies it, & commands him to proteſt againſt it. Upon which Occaſion *Oſiander*, a plain Proteſtant, in his Hiſtory makes this Remark upon the *Calvinian* Honeſty.

'Heretofore (*ſays he*) when Peace 'was granted to the Proteſtants in *Germa-* 'ny, the *Calviniſts* put in their Claim to 'their Share in it, becauſe they owned the *Ausburg* Confeſſion (and it was ſubſcrib'd 'by *Calvin* himſelf) notwithſtanding that 'at the ſame time they held contradictory O- 'pinions. But in the Conference at *Poiſſy* 'when they preſumed that they had ſtrength 'and force enough to defend their own Do- 'ctrines, they openly rejected the *Ausburg* 'Confeſſion, when it was offered them by 'the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, to ſubſcribe as the 'only Article of Pacification. And yet after

'this, when they had not obtained their Ends, 'they again in affront to their own Conscien-'ces cry up the *Ausburg* Confession as their 'only Standard of Faith, not that they ap-'proved it, but under that false guise to im-'pose *Calvinism* upon the plain meaning *Lutherians*. So far the Historian, though the matter of Fact is its own best Proof.

This is the short Account of this Controversie in all foreign Churches. All Parties of Christendom agree in the Substance of the Doctrine, even the *Calvinists* themselves, who, tho they sometimes attempted to deny it, had not confidence enough to be steady to their own Opinion, but were often forced to submit it to the consent of Christendom.

From all these Premises it is evident, that no one thing in the World is more unfit to be set up for a Test than *Transubstantiation*, seeing all Parties agree in the thing, tho' not in the word, and yet tho' they do, they again disagree in numberless Speculations about it, and when they have done, all Parties unanimously agree that the Modus is a thing utterly unknown and incomprehensible. So that take it one way (*i. e.*) as to the thing it self, or the real Presence, the

Test

Test is a defiance to all Christendom; take it the other way, as to the Modus, it is nothing at all but only imposing an unintelligible Thing upon the Wisdom and Honour of a Nation under the severest Penalties.

As for the Church of *England*, she agrees with the Tradition of the *Catholick* Church both *Roman* and *Reformed*, in asserting the certainty of the real Presence, and the uncertainty of the Manner of it; tho the true account of it hath been miserably perplexed, and disturbed by the oblique Practices of the Sacramentarians.

The first Account we have of it is in our celebrated Church-Historian, out of Dr. *Stillingfleet*'s famous invisible *Manuscript*, (*Part.* 2. *p.* 62. *Collect. N.* 25.) whereby as he had before made Archbishop *Cranmer*, a meer *Erastian* as to Discipline, so now here he makes him a meer *Sacramentarian* as to Doctrine.

A Committee of selected Bishops and Divinies being appointed in the First Year of King *Edward*, for examining and reforming Offices of the Church. The First, because most material point, was the Eucharist, concerning which all things were put into certain Quœries, to which every Commissioner gave

gave in his Anſwer in Writing. And to the Queſtion concerning the Euchariſt, What is the Oblation and Sacrifice of Chriſt in the Maſs? *Cranmer*'s Anſwer is,

'The Oblation and Sacrifice of Chriſt in 'the Maſs is not ſo called, becauſe Chriſt 'indeed is there Offered and Sacrificed by the 'Prieſt, and the people (for that was done 'but once by himſelf upon the Croſs) but it 'is ſo call'd, becauſe it is a Memory and Re'preſentation of that very true Sacrifice and 'Immolation, which before was made upon 'the Croſs.

This is pure *Zuinglianiſm*, and in Oppoſition to it, it is aſſerted by Six Biſhops in a *Body*.

'I think it is the Preſentation of the very 'Body and Blood of Chriſt, being really pre'ſent in the Sacrament, which Preſentation 'the Prieſt makes at the Maſs in the name of 'the Church, unto God the Father, and in Me'mory of Chriſt's Paſſion, and Death upon 'the Croſs, with Thankſgiving therefore, 'and devout Prayer, that all Chriſtian Peo'ple, and namely they who ſpiritually join 'with the Prieſt in the ſaid Oblation, and of 'whom he makes ſpecial Remembrance, may 'attain the Benefit of the ſaid Paſſion.

And

And to these agree the several Answers of *Carlisle*, and *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, by which (as the Histori n well observes) the Reader will perceive how generally the Bishops were adicted to the old Superstition, and how few did a ree in all things with *Cranmer*.

Now this Old Superstition that he finds in this passage, is nothing but the true Old Protestant Doctrine of the Real Presence, in opposition to meer Figure and Representation, which is all that is here asserted by the Bishops.

But this is the bold practice of this bold Writer, to make *Cranmer* the Standard of the Reformation; and this unknown Manuscript the Standard of *Cranmer*'s Opinions; and these two grand Forgeries concerning no Church Government; and the meer Commemorative Presence in the Eucharist, are the two grand singularites of his History; and the main things that give it popular Vogue and Reputation with his Party; and were these two blind Stories, and the Reasons depending upon them retrench'd, it would be like the shaving of *Samson*'s hair, and destroy all the strength peculiar to the History.

The Design was apparently laid before the work

Work was undertaken, that induſtriouſly wraps all things into *Irenical* and *Eraſtian* Principles, and the vain Man ſeems to have been flattered by his Patrons into all that pains to give Reputation to their Errors.

And here lay the Fondneſs for the *Stillingfleetian Manuſcript*, that it ſo frankly and openly aſſerted Eraſtian and Sacramentarian Principles as the Bottom of the Reformation. But if ſuch an unprov'd and unwarrantable piece of Paper, without any certain Conveyance or Tradition, without any Notice of ſo publick a Tranſaction in any contemporary Writer, without any other Evidence of its being genuine, than that it was put providentially into the hands of Dr. *St.* when he wrote his *Irenicum*, muſt be ſet up for undoubted Record, againſt all the Records of the Churches, our great Hiſtorian would be well adviſ'd to employ his pains in writing Lampoons upon the preſent Princes of *Chriſtendom* (eſpecially his own) which he delights in moſt, becauſe it is the worſt thing that himſelf can do, than collecting the Records of former times. For the firſt will require Time and Poſtage to purſue his Malice, but

but the ſecond is eaſily trac'd in the Chimney corner.

And therefore I would deſire theſe Gentlemen either to give a better Account of the Deſcent and Genealogy of the Paper, than that it came to Dr. *St.* by Miracles; or elſe to give it leſs Authority.

But to proceed, a new Office for the Communion-Service was drawn up in the ſame Year by the Biſhops, in compiling of which *Cranmer* had the chief hand, and by his great power over-ruled the reſt at pleaſure; in this ſervice he retains the old Form of Words uſed in the Ancient *Miſſals*, when there was no *Zuinglianiſm* or Doctrine of figurative Preſence in the Chriſtian World, and the real Preſence was univerſally believed as appears by the very Words of Diſtribution.

*The Body of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt which was given for thee, preſerve thy Body and Soul unto everlaſting Life.* And *the Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt which was ſhed for thee*, &c.

This Was the Form preſcribed in the Firſt Liturgy of *Edward* the *6th*, and agreeable to this are the King's own Injunctions publiſhed at the ſame time, where the Euchariſt is called

led the Communion of the very Body and Blood of Christ, by which Form of Words they then expressed the real Presence as opposed to *Zuinglianism*.

This Liturgy being thus established, and withal abetted by Act of Parliament, for some time kept up its Authority in the Church against all Opposition; though it was soon encountred with Enemies enough both at home and abroad out of the *Calvinian* Quarters.

At the end of the Year ensuing *Peter Martyr*, a rank Sacramentarian, came over and after much conversation with *Cranmer*, he was plac'd *Regius Professor* in *Oxford*, where he soon raised Tumults about *Zuinglian* and *Sacramentarian* Doctrines.

But *Bucer*, that prudent and moderate Reformer, came not till some time after, though invited at the same time: And so either came too late or departed too soon; for as he came over in *June* so he dy'd in *January*, so that tho he were a great Assertor of the Real Presence (as our Church Historian himself often observes) he had not a season to sow his Doctrine, and *Martyr* reigning alone, and being a furious Biggot in his Principles

ciples, it is no wonder if *Zuinglianism* spread with so much Authority.

But the most fatal blow to the Reformation of the Church of *England* was given by *Calvin*'s correspondence with the *Protector*, and afterwards with *Dudley*, taking upon him to *censure*, *expunge*, *reform*, *impose*, at his own pleasure; the Malignity of whose Influence first discovered it self in the ceremonial War against a Cap and a Tippet, but soon wrought into the Vitals of the Reformation, especially, as to the Liturgy and the Eucharist; both which must be removed to give way to the *Zuinglian* Errors.

This Alteration was made in the *5th.* Year of the Kings Reign, tho precisely when, and by what Persons, is utterly unknown, only it is remarked by our Church Historian to have followed immediately after the consecration of *Hooper*. (*pag.* 166.) When (as he observes) the Bishops being generally addicted to the Purity of Religion, spent most of this Year in preparing Articles which should contain the Doctrine of the Church of *England*. Among which the *29th.* condemns the real Presence, as the new Liturgy, to which they are annexed, had before almost run it up to the charge of Idolatry.

For

For they were not content to abolish the old Missal form of Distribution. *The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy Body and Soul unto everlasting Life. Take and eat this*, &c. But instead of it appoint this *Zuinglian* Form *Take and eat this* (without any mention of the Body and Blood of Christ) *in remembrance that Christ died for thee*, &c.

Neither were these Innovators (whoever they were) satisfied with the Alteration of the old Form; but add a fierce Declaration to bar the Doctrine of Real and Essential Presence.

Whereas it is ordered in this Office of the Administration of the Lord's Supper, that the Communicants should receive the same Kneeling (which order is well meant for a signification of our humble and grateful acknowledgement of the benefits of Christ therein, given to all worthy Receivers, and for avoiding such Prophanation and Disorder in the Holy Communion, as might otherwayes ensue.) Yet least the same *Kneeling* should by any Persons, either out of Ignorance and Infirmity, or out of Malice and Obstinacy be misconstrued and depraved, it is here declared that no Adoration is intended,

or

or ought to be done unto any real or essential Presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood, for the Sacramental Bread and Wine remain still in their very natural Substances, and therefore may not be ador'd, (for that were Idolatry to be abhorr'd by all faithful Christians) and the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ are in Heaven, and not here. It being against the Truth of Christ's natural Body, to be at one time in more places than one.

And whereas a body of Articles was composed at the same time, it is declared in the 29*th*. Article, That since the very beeing of humane Nature doth require, that the body of one and the same Man, cannot be at one and the same time in many places; but of necessity must be in some certain and determinate place; therefore the body of Christ cannot be present in many different places at the same time. And since as the Holy Scriptures testifie Christ hath been taken up into Heaven, and there is to abide till the end of the World, it becomes not any of the Faithful to believe or profess, that there is a real or coporeal Presence (as they Phrase it) of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Holy Eucharist.

This

This Declaration, though it seem'd to be aim'd with a particular Malice against the *Lutherians*, and their peculiar manner of Asserting and Explaining the Real Presence yet it strikes at the general Doctrine it self, held in all Churches. And as these were the great Alterations made at that time; so who were the Authors and Contrivers of 'em is so utterly unknown to Historians, that they are not so much as able to conjecture.

Doctor *Heylin* would ascribe it either to the Convocation it self, or some Committee appointed by it. But this is the Officious Kindness of the good Man to help out the poor oppressed Church at that time, as a dead Lift, having no Record or Authority for his Assertion.

Doctor *Burnet* has often heard it said, That the Articles were fram'd by *Cranmer* and *Ridley*. But whoever told him so know no more than himself; I am sure it is the meanest Trade in an Historian to stoop to Hear-says.

All that can be conjectured of it, is, That it was done at that unhappy time when *Dudley* Governed all, who when he form'd his great and ambitious Designs, (first as the Historian Remarks) endeavoured to make himself

himself Popular; and to this end, among other Arts, he made himself Head and Patron of the *Calvinian* Faction, and entertained the Establish'd Church with Neglect and Contempt; and therefore I find not Ecclesiastick Matters referr'd to the advice of the Regular Ecclesiastical Order, but were either Transacted by Himself, and his Agents in private, or some incompetent Lay-Authority.

As to this matter of the New Liturgy and Articles, there is no Record but an Act of Parliament, by which they are Impos'd and Authoriz'd. 'Whereas there hath been a very Godly 'Order set forth by the Authority 'of Parliament for Common-Prayer, and 'Administration of the Holy Sacraments, to 'be used in the Mother Tongue within this 'Church of *England*, agreeable to the Word 'of God, and the Primitive Church, very 'comfortable to all good people, desiring to 'live in Christian conversation, and most 'profitable to the Estate of this Realm; upon 'the which, the Mercy, Favour, and Bless'ing of Almighty GOD is in no wise so readi'ly and plenteously pour'd, as by Common-'Prayers, due using of the Sacraments, and often

Anno 5to. & 6to Edw. 6ti.

'often Preaching of the Gospel with the De-
'votion of the hearers; and yet this not-
'withstanding a great number of People in
'divers parts of this Realm, following their
'own sensuality, and living either without
'Knowledge, or due fear of God, do wilfully &
'guilty of damnation before Almighty God,
'abstain and refuse to come to their Parish-
'Churches, and other places where Com-
'mon-Prayer, and Administration of the
'Sacraments, and preaching of the Word of
'God, is used upon Sundays and other Days,
'ordain'd to be Holy-days.

'II. For *Reformation hereof be it enacted by*
'*the King our Sovereign Lord, with the assent*
'*of the Lords and Commons in this present*
'*Parliament assembled, and by the Authority*
'*of the same, that from and after the* Feast of
'All-Saints *next coming, all and every person*
'*and persons inhabiting within this Realm,*
'*or any other the King's Majesty's Domini-*
'*ons, shall diligently and faithfully, (having*
'*no lawful or reasonable excuse to be ab-*
'*sent) endeavour themselves to resort to*
'*their* Parish Church *or Chapel accustomed,*
'*or upon reasonable let thereof, to some usual*
'*place, where Common-Prayer, and such*

'Ser-

'Service of God ſhall be uſed in ſuch time of 'Lent, upon every Sunday, and other days 'ordained and uſed to be kept as Holy-days, 'and then and there to abide orderly and ſo-'berly during the time of the Common-Prayer, 'Preachings, or other Service of God there 'to be us'd and miniſtred, upon pain of pu-'niſhment by the Cenſures of the Church.

III. 'And for the due execution hereof, the 'King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, the Lords 'Temporal, and all the Commons in this pre-'ſent Parliament aſſembled, doth in God's 'name earneſtly require and charge all Arch-'biſhops, Biſhops, and their Ordinaries, that 'they ſhall endeavour themſelves to the utter-'moſt of their Knowledges, that the due and 'true execution thereof may be had through-'out their Dioceſſes and Charges, as they 'will anſwer before GOD for ſuch Evils and 'Plagues, wherewith Almighty GOD may 'juſtly puniſh his People, for neglecting this 'good and wholeſome Law.

'IV. And for their Authority in this be-'half, be it further likewiſe enacted by the 'Authority aforeſaid, That all and ſingular 'the ſame Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and all o-'ther their Officers, exerciſing Eccleſiaſtical 'Juriſdiction, as well in place Exempt, as

'not Exempt, within their Dioceſſes, ſhall 'have full power and Authority by this Act, 'to Reform, Correct, and Puniſh by Cenſures 'of the Church all and ſingular perſons which 'ſhall offend within any their Juriſdictions 'or Dioceſſes, after the ſaid Feaſt of All-'Saints next coming, againſt this Act and 'Statute; any other Law, Statute, Privi-'lege, Liberty, or Proviſion heretofore made, 'had, or ſuffered to the contrary notwith-'ſtanding.

'V. And becauſe there is riſen in the uſe 'and exerciſe of the aforeſaid common Service 'in the Church, heretofore ſet forth, divers 'doubts for the faſhion or manner of the Mi-'niſtration of the ſame, rather by the curi-'oſity of the Miniſter and Miſtakers, than of 'any other worthy cauſe; therefore, as well 'for the more plain and manifeſt Explana-'tion thereof, as for the more perfection of the 'ſaid Order or Common Service, in ſome 'places, where it is neceſſary to make the 'ſame Prayer and faſhion of Service, more 'earneſt and fit to ſtir Chriſtian People to the 'true honouring of Almighty God, the King's 'moſt Excellent Majeſty, with the aſſent of 'the Lords and Commons of this preſent Par-'liament aſſembled, and by the Authority of

'the

'*the ſame, hath cauſed the aforſaid Order,* '*or Common Service, Intituled,* The Book 'of Common Prayer, *to be faithfully and* '*godly peruſed, explained, and made fully* '*perfect, and by the aforſaid Authority hath* '*annexed and joined it, ſo explained and per-*'*fected, to this preſent Statute,* &c.

In this new Office, beſide the formentioned alterations in the Liturgy it ſelf, there was order'd in the Rubrick, the Abolition of *Copes* and *Hoods*; neither is it altogether unobſervable, that at this time *Hopkins* his Pſalms broke in upon the ſervice of the Church.

But in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, when the Reformation was ſetled in that State, in which it ever after continued, that new Declaration of the Second Liturgy of King *Edward* was rejected, together with the 29*th.* Article, and the Firſt old Form of Diſtribution was reſtored. And that's a clear Declaration of the Sence of this Church for a real and eſſential Preſence, when it was ſo particularly concern'd to have all Bars againſt it remov'd. And from that time forward, the moſt eminent Divines in it, were ſucceſſively from Age to Age the moſt Aſſertors of it.

It were in vain to recite the numberleſs paſſages to that purpoſe, it having been ſo often done by other Hands. A Liſt of the Names of the principal Authors may be ſeen in the late Biſhop of *Durham*'s *Hiſtoria Tranſubſtantiationis*, *John Point*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who wrote a very learned book upon the Argument, entituled, *Dialacticon*, to explain the Sence of the Church of *England*, about it; *John Jewel*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*, the learned Biſhops *Andrews* and *Bilſon*, *Iſaac Caſaubon* in the Name and by the command of King *James* the Firſt, in his Anſwer to Cardinal *Perron*; Mr. *Hooker*; *John*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; *Montague*, Biſhop of *Norwich*; *James*, Primate of *Armagh*; *Francis*, Biſhop of *Ely*; Archbiſhop *Laud*; Biſhop *Overal*, and the Archbiſhop of *Spalato*.

To this Catalogue variety of other Writers might be added, but either here are Witneſſes enough, or there never can be. Neither need I produce their Teſtimonies, when they are ſo vulgarly known, and have been ſo frequently recited.

I ſhall content my ſelf with the Two principal, the moſt learned and reverend Prelates *Point* and *Andrews*.

The

The first wrote his *Diallactieon* concerning the Truth, Nature and Substance of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist. A book much aproved and often commended by *Grotius*, (tho he knew not the Author) as the best Discourse upon the Argument, and the most proper Method to restore the Peace of the Christian Church in that point, which he further says was for that purpose translated into *French* by a reformed Divine, by the Advice of his *B*rethren. I have not the book by me, but the Design and fundamental Assertion is to prove (as Dr. *Cosins* recits it) that the Eucharist is not only a Figure of the Body of our Lord, but contains in it the Verity, Nature and Substance; and therefore that these Terms ought not to be exploded, because the Ancients generally used them in their Discourses upon this Argument.

Animad. Cass. Artic. 10. in Animad. Rivet *V*otum pro Pace *A*rt. 10. Rivet. *A*pol. dicuss.

But Bishop *Andrews* his Passage, though grown Vulgar and Thread-bare, by being so continually quoted, best deserves our Observation, because by that means it is made not only a Declaration of his own Sence, but of all that followed him in it, and that is of almost all the learned Men of the Church of

*England*

*England*, that have ſucceeded from that time. The Paſſage in his Anſwer to *Bellarmine* in theſe Words.

The Cardinal is not ignorant, except wilfully, that Chriſt hath ſaid, This is my Body. Now about the Object we are both agreed; all the Controverſy is about the *Modus*. We firmly believe that it is the Body of Chriſt, but after what manner it is made to be ſo, there is not a Word extent in the Goſpel, and therefore we reject it from being a matter of Faith. We will, if you pleaſe, place it among the Decrees of the Schools; but by no means among the Articles of Religion. What *Durandus* ſaid of old, we approve of. *We hear the Word, feel the Effect, know not the Manner, believe the* Preſence. And ſo we believe the Preſence too, and that real no leſs than your ſelves: Only we define nothing raſhly of its *Modus*, neither do we curiouſly inquire into it; no more than how the Blood of Chriſt cleanſeth us in our Baptiſm; no more than how in the Incarnation of Chriſt the humane Nature is united to the Divine. We rank it in the Order of Myſteries (and indeed the whole Euchariſt it ſelf is nothing but Myſtery) what remains beſide, ought to be conſumed by Fire, that is as the Fathers elegantly expreſs

expreſs it, to be ador'd by Faith, not examined by Reaſon.

This was his State of the Controverſie, that was then perus'd and approv'd of by King *James*, and ever after retained by the Divines of the Church of *England* down to the Rebellion and Subverſion of Church and State, and then it was carried into baniſhment with its Confeſſors. For whilſt his late Majeſty reſided at *Cologn*, it was there commonly objected, in his own Preſence, by the *Roman* Divines againſt the Church of *England*, That all its Members were meer *Zuinglians* and *Sacramentarians*, that believed only an imaginary Preſence.

Upon this Dr. *Coſins*, who was then Dean of the Chapel Royal, by his Majeſties command writes a Diſcourſe to vindicate the Church of *England* from that calumny, and to give an Account of its Sence concerning the true and real Preſence; in which he declares himſelf to the ſame purpoſe with all the fore-mentioned Authors, all along vehemently aſſerting the true reality of the Preſence, and ſtill declaring the *Modus* to be ineffable, unſearchable, above our Senſes, and above our Reaſon.

So that ſtill all Parties are agreed in the thing

thing it ſelf, were it not for one miſtaken Suppoſition, that the Church of *Rome* hath not only defin'd the Matter, but the Manner, which ſhe is ſo far from pretending to attempt that before ſhe proceeding to decree any thing about it, ſhe declar'd that it was ſo Incomprehenſible, that it was not capable of being defin'd, as we ſee all Chriſtendom hath done beſide.

Now after all this I leave it to the common Sence and Ingenuity of Mankind, whether any thing can be more barbarous and profane than to make the renouncing of a Myſtery, ſo unanimouſly receiv'd, *a State TEST*. And that is my preſent concerment about it, not as a Point of Divinity, but is turned into point of State.

Thus far proceeded the old Church of *England*, which as it was baniſhed, ſo it was reſtored with the Crown. But by reaſon of the long Interval of Twenty Years between the Rebellion and Reſtitution, there aroſe a new Generation of Divines that knew not *Joſeph*. Theſe Men underhand deſerted and undermined the Old Church, as it ſtood upon Divine Right, and Catholick Principles, and inſtead of it erected a New Church of their own Contrivance, conſiſting partly of Inde-

pen-

pendency, partly of Eraſtianiſm, with the Independent, leaving no ſtanding Authority in the Church over private Chriſtians, but leaving every man to the arbitrary choice of his own communion; with *Eraſtus* allowing no Juriſdiction to the Chriſtian Church, but what is derived from the Civil Magiſtrate.

Theſe Principles being Pleaſing to the Wantonneſs of the People, theſe Men ſoon grew popular, and ſoon had the confidence to call themſelves the Church of *England*: But the principal Objection of their Zeal was the Deſtruction of Popery, and the only Meaſure of Truth, with them, was Oppoſition to the Church of *Rome*. And therefore they aſſumed to themſelves the Management of that great and glorious War.

And as they managed it upon new Principles, or indeed, none at all (never writing for our Church, but only againſt that Church) ſo they advanced new Arguments to repreſent the Church of *Rome* as Odious as poſſible, to the People. Among theſe the Two moſt frightful Topicks, were *Tranſubſtantiation* and *Idolatry*. One was a very hard Word, and the other a very ugly one. Theſe Two Words, they made the two great Kettle-Drums to the Proteſtant Guards. They were

were containually beating upon them with all their Force, and whenever they found themselves at any disadvantage with an Enemy (as they often were by pressing too far, for they never thought they did enough in the Cause) by making a Noise upon these Two loud Engines, they could at pleasure drown the Dispute.

Now, ever since this Alteration of the State of the War between the Two Churches, we hear little or nothing at all of the *real Presence* in the Cause, but it is become as great a Stranger the (*i. e. their*) Church of *England* as *Transubstantiation* it self, but the whole matter is resolved into a meer Sacramental Figure and Representation, and a Participation only of the Benefits of the Body and Blood of Christ by Faith.

I know not any one Writer of that Party of Men, that hath ever own'd any higher Mystery, but one the contrary they state all the Disputes about the Eucharist upon Sacramentarian Principles, and with them to assert the true reality of the Presence of our Saviour's Body and Blood in the Sacrament, as naturally resolves it self into *Transubstantiation*, as that does into *Idolatry*.

And the main Argument insisted upon by them

them, is the natural Impoſſibility of the thing it ſelf to the Divine Omnipotence, which beſide the prophane boldneſs of preſcribing Meaſures to God's Attributes in a Myſtery that they do not comprehend; 'tis, as appears by the Premiſes, a defiance to the Practice of all Churches, who have ever acknowledged an incompreheſible Myſtery, not ſubject to the Examination of Humane Reaſon, but to be imbraced purely upon the Authority of a Divine Revelation.

And therefore that ought to be the only matter of Diſpute. For if it be a Divine Revelation (as all Chriſtendom hath hitherto believed) that determines the Caſe without any farther Enquiry; and if any Man will not be ſatisfied with that Authority, he makes very bold with his Maker. And Men of theſe Principles would no doubt, make admirable Work with the Definitions of Articles of Faith by the Four firſt general Councils.

But to let their new way of Arguing paſs, it is theſe Men that firſt ſet up Sacramentarian Principles in this Church, and then blew them into the Parliament Houſe, raiſing there, every Seſſion, continual Tumults about Religion, and it is to their caballing with the

the Members that we owe theſe new and unpreſidented *TESTS*. Perhaps to have their own Decrees and Writings eſtabliſhed by Law, and impoſed upon the whole Nation as Goſpel.

In ſhort, if they own a real Preſence, we ſee from the Premiſes how little the Controverſie is between that and *Tranſubſtantiation*, as it is truly and ingeniouſly underſtood by all reformed Churches. If they do not, they diſown the Doctrine both of the Church of *England*, and the Church *Catholick*, and then if they own only a figurative Preſence (and it is plain they own no other) they ſtand condemned of Hereſie by almoſt all Churches in the Chriſtian World; and if this be the thing intended to be ſet up (as it certainly is by the Authors and Contrivers of it) by renouncing *Tranſubſtantiation*, then the Reſult and Bottom of the Law is under this Pretence to bring a new Hereſie by Law into the Church of *England*.

And yet upon this Foot I find the Controverſie ſtands at this preſent Day between the Biſhop of *Rome*, or the Biſhop of *Condom* on one part, and little *Julian* in the Backſhop with his Dragoons on the other part: The Biſhop eſtabliſhes the real Preſence in Op-

Oppoſition to the Figurative; His Anſwerer turns the whole Myſtery into meer Type and Figure, by ſetting up a figurative Interpretation of the Words of Inſtitution, and yet confeſſes it at the ſame time to be ſomewhat more than a Figure.

To this it is reply'd, I would gladly know what that is, which is not the thing it ſelf, but yet is more than a meer Figure of it: To this it is anſwered, That the Preſence is Spiritual, but yet Real; but how a Corporeal Subſtance ſhould have a real Spiritual Preſence, is a thing that requires more Philoſophy to clear it up than *Tranſubſtantiation*, or in the Words of the Author himſelf: 'We 'ſuppoſe it to be a plain Contradiction that 'Body ſhould have any Exiſtence, but what 'alone is proper to a Body that is Corpo'real.

This is there laſt Reſolution of this Controverſie, that a true real Preſence is a contradiction; and ſo I think a real ſpiritual Preſence of a bodily Subſtance.

This Scent the whole Chace follows, and unanimouſly agree in this Cry, That there is no Preſence, but either meerly figurative, and that ſhuts out all Reality, and is univerſally condemned by all the Reformation; or meerly

ly Spiritual, *( i. e. )* the preſent Effects and Benefits of the abſent Body and Blood of Chriſt, which hath been all along equally caſhiered by all other Reformed Churches, as the other grand Scandal of *Zuinglianiſm*.

Thus the *London* Anſwerer to the *Oxford* Diſcourſes: There can be no real Preſence, but either Figuratively in the Elements, or Spiritually in the Souls of thoſe who worthily receive them. So Dr. *St*.

*Anſwer to T. C. Dialogue, p. 66.*

All which the Doctrine of our Church implies by this Phraſe, is only a real Preſence of Chriſt's inviſible Power and Grace, ſo in and with the Elements, as by the faithful receiving of them to convey real and ſpiritual Effects to the Souls of Men.

The *Oxford* Anſwerer to the *Oxford* Diſcourſes allows no other real Preſence but the virtual Preſence, that is the meer Effect.

So the popular Author of the Diſcourſe againſt *Tranſubſtantiation*, makes no *Medium* between the meer figurative Preſence and Tranſubſtantiation, ſo that all other preſence, that is not meerly Figurative, comes under the Notion of Tranſubſtantiation.

Now the gentleſt character he is pleaſed to give

give of this *Monſiur*, is this, That the buſineſs of *Tranſubſtantiation* is not a controverſie of Scripture againſt Scripture, or of Reaſon againſt Reaſon, but of downright Impudence againſt the plain meaning of the Scripture, and all the Sence and Reaſon of all Mankind.

But beſides the intolerable Rudneſs of the charge againſt all the Learned Men of the Church of *Rome*, as the worſt of Sots and Ideots, if there be no middle real preſence between *Tranſubſtantiation* and the *Figure*, he hath caſt all the Proteſtant Churches into the ſame condemnation of *Sots* and *Fools*.

But howſoever raſh and prepoſterous it may be for Perſons that believe the real Preſence to abjure the Word *Traſubſtantiation*, yet to determine any part of Divine Worſhip in the Chriſtian Church to be in its own Nature Idolatry, is inhumane and barbarous.

IDOLATRY is a Stabbing and Cut-throat Word, its leaſt puniſhment is the greateſt that can be, both Death and Damnation; and good Reaſon too, when the Crime is no leſs than renouncing the true God that made Heaven and Earth. Thus *Exod.* 22. 20. He that ſacrificeth unto any God, ſave unto the *Lord* and *Jehovah* only, he ſhall be utterly

ly deſtroyed. *Deut.* 13.6. If thy Brother the Son of thy Mother, or thy Son, or thy Daughter, or the Wife of thy Boſom, or thy Friend which is as thine own Soul, entice the ſecreetly, ſaying, Let us go and ſerve other Gods (which thou haſt not known, thou nor thy Fathers) namely of the Gods of the people which are round about you, nigh unto thee, or far off from thee, from the one end of the Earth unto the other: Thou ſhalt not conſent unto him, nor harken unto him: Neither ſhall thine Eye pity him, neither ſhalt thou ſpare, neither ſhalt thou conceal him. But thou ſhalt ſurely kill him; thine hand ſhall be firſt upon him to put him to Death, and afterward the hand of all the people. And thou ſhalt ſtone him with Stones, that he die: Becauſe he hath ſought to thruſt thee away from the Lord thy God which brought thee out of the Land of *Egypt*, from the *Houſe of Bondage*.

This was the Crime, and this the Puniſhment of Idolatry, and the Sentence was ſo ſeverely Executed, that for the ſetting up the *golden Calf*, or Symbol of the *Sun*, that the *Ægyptians* Worſhipp'd, as the ſupreme Diety, as will appear in its proper place, Three thouſand of the Ring-leaders, were put

to

to the Sword by the command of *Moſes*, *Exod.* 32. 27. And for this Reaſon it pleaſed God to deſtroy the *Canaanites* from off the Face of the Earth, (*i.e.*) for giving Divine Worſhip to falſe and created Deities in Defiance to the Eternal Creator of it.

So black a Crime as this, that is no leſs than renouncing GOD is not lightly to be charged upon any Party of Chriſtians, not only becauſe of the foulneſs of the Calumny, but the barbarous conſequences that may follow upon it, to invite and warrant the Rabble, when ever Opportunity favours, to deſtroy the Roman Catholicks and their Images, as the *Iſraelites* were commanded to deſtroy the *Canaanites* and their Idols.

But before ſo bloodly an Indictment be preferr'd againſt the greateſt part of Chriſtendom, the Nature of the thing ought to be very well underſtood. The Charge is too big for a Scolding Word. And how inconſiſtent ſoever Idolatry may be with Salvation, I fear ſo uncharitable a Calumny (if it prove one) can be of no leſs damnable Conſequence. It is a piece of Inhumanity, that out-does the Savageneſs of the *Canibals* themſelves, and damns at once both Body and Soul.

And yet after all, we have no other ground

for the bold conceit, than the crude and rash Assertions of some popular Divines, who have no other Measures of Truth or Zeal, but hatred to Popery; and therefore never spare for hard Words against that Church, and run up all Objections against it unto nothing less then Atheism and Blasphemy, of which Idolatry is the greatest instance.

But if they would lay aside their indecent Heats, and soberly enquire into the Nature and Original of Idolatry; they would be as much ashamed of the Ignorance of their Accusations, as they ought to be of its Malice. And therefore I shall set down a plain and brief Account of that Argument, that when we understand the easie, obvious, and natural Notion of Idolatry, it will for ever expose the Vanity of these Men's Fanatique pretences. I pray God there be nothing worse at bottom, seeing it has ever been set up as the Standard against Monarchy.

It is a Subject that hath entertained the most able Pens in the World, but I shall not presume or pretend to be so learned, but shall confine all my Knowledge to the Word of God, chiefly to the *Mosaick* Writings, for there it is fully and clearly stated, the *Mosaick* Law being enacted purely in Opposition to Idolatry.

Idolatry. Now nothing can be more obvious, than that the Notion of it their is neither more nor less than this: *The Worship of the Heavenly Bodies, the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, or any other visible and corporeal Diety, as the Supreme God, so as to exclude all Sense and Apprehension of a Spiritual and Invisible Godhead.*

This evidently appears both by the Almighties several Revelations that he made of himself to the Children of *Israel* to preserve them from it, and from the several Characters and Descriptions, that himself hath upon numberless occasions made of it.

Most learned Men would trace its Original from before the Flood, but they follow their chase without any Scent, as generally all Antiquaries do, when they pursue into the first Source and Original of things.

The *Jewish Rabbies* (that are of too late a standing to pretend to any Authority in such Ancient Matters; for as they lived not above six Ages before us, so they had no other Records than what we have, the Writings of *Moses* and the Prophets) drive its Original from the Age of *Enos*; but as their conjecture is founded upon an ambiguous Word, so it is contradicted by the State of the World at

that time; for by reason of the long Lives of the Patriarchs from the Creation to the Flood it is not easie to conceive, that the Memory and Tradition of the late Creation of the World should be worn out in so short a time, *Enos* being *Adam*'s Grandchild, & living in the same Age with him for some Hundred Years.

But the plain Demonstration that there was no such Impiety before the Flood, is, that *Moses*, when he reckons up the causes that provok'd God to bring that Judgement upon the World, makes no mention of the Sin of Idolatry, of which, if they had been Guilty, as it is a Sin of the first Magnitude, so it would have held the first place in the Indictment.

Others make *Cham* the Father of this Monster, as they do of all other Crimes, but for no other Reason beside his ill Name.

Others derive it from the Tower of *Babel*, which they will have to have been built for an Altar to the Sun, after the Custom of after-times, when they Worshipped him upon high Towers for Altars.

*Maimonides*, and his Followers, find deep Footsteeps in the time of *Abraham*, who was born in *Ur* of the *Chaldees* that is, say they, the Country of the Ancient *ZABII*, the Founders of Idolatry; and for that reason he was commanded out of his own coun-

try

try to the Woſhip of the True GOD.

But this Dream of the *ZABII* is ſo modern, and ſo void of the Authority of any Ancient Record, that it proves it ſelf a fond Impoſture. Tho in *Abraham*'s time (and that was many Centuries after the Flood) we meet with the firſt traces of this Apoſtacy: For that extraordinary Diſcovery that God was pleaſed to make of himſelf as *Supreme Lord of all things*, was made to *Abraham* in Oppoſition to the Idolatry of his own Country, *i.e. Chaldea*, who ſeemed to have been the firſt Founders of it, and for that reaſon God commanded him *to leave his country his Kindred, and his Fathers Houſe, and ſojourn in the Land of* Canaan, *Gen.* 12. 1. where the Tradition of the Knowledge of the True GOD ſeems to have been much better preſerved. So that tho there were ſome Decays from the Old Religion, yet they were as yet very far from an Univerſal Apoſtacy.

That the Plague was then broken out in *Chaldea*, is evident from the words of *Joſhua*, (24. 2.) *Your Fathers dwelt on the other ſide the River in old time, even* Terah *the Father of* Abraham, *and the Father of* Nachor, *and they ſerv'd ſtrange Gods.* But when *Abraham* came into *Canaan*; I find no Records

that

that the Customs of his Country had passed the River, but on the contrary evident Instances of their Knowledge of the True God, as Creator of Heaven and Earth.

What can be more plain than the Story of *Melchisedick*, *Priest of the most High God* (a Term appropriate in Scripture to the Supreme Deity) in his blessing *Abraham*, *Blessed be* Abraham *of the most High God*, *Creator of Heaven and Earth.* And when God consumed *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* with Fire from Heaven, Idolatry is no where reckoned among the causes and provocations of that severe and unusual Judgement; and had it been one of their crying Sins, it would have been the loudest, and so never have been omitted by the Sacred Historian. And when *Isaac* was forced by Famine into the Country of the *Philistians*, *Abimelech* their King entred into a Solumn and Religious Covenant with him of mutual Defence and Offence, upon this Inducement, that he was *the Blessed of the Lord*, or the peculiar Favorite of *Jehovah*; so that as long as himself and *Isaac* were of a side, the Supreme Gods immediate Providence would be engaged in his Protection.

The first plain Intimation we find of it in

*Palestine*

*Palestine* is in the History of *Jacob*, after his conversation with the *Schechemites*, where, upon his departure from the City by God's special command, he builds an Altar at *Bethel* to God, and commands his Family to put away their Θεοὶ ἀλλότριοι or *Strange Gods*. And from this time we read of nothing of this Nature till the Deliverance of the Children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, after they had been detained there Four Hundred and Thirty Years, according to the Hebrew, or Two Hundred and Fifteen according to the *Seventy*, the greatest part of which time was spent in Slavery and Bondage.

But at, and after their Deliverance, we hear of nothing else but Cautions against *Idolatry* or Worship of Strange Gods, as if in that long Tract of Time and Misery, they had lost the Tradition of the God of their Ancestors, and by long conversation with the *Egyptians*, had taken up their Masters Religion together with their Burdens; and it was scarce possible to be otherwise for men in their poor condition, after so long a Tract of Time than to take up the Religion in publick Practice.

Long custom and conversation naturally inures Men to the Manners of the Country; but

but Slavery breaks Men to them: And what could be expected from miserable People, who spent all their days in carrying of Clay, gathering Straw, making Bricks, and all Offices of Servility, than that they should serve their Masters Gods, as well as their Masters themselves? And that this was their case, is evident from the whole Series of the Story.

The first discovery that the Almighty made of himself, was to *Moses*, in the Burning Bush, where he tells us, *Exod.* 3 6. *I am the God of thy Fathers, the God of* Abraham, *the God of* Isaac, *and the God of* Jacob: But this seems to be a New Language to *Moses*; For he replys, *ver.* 13. *When I come unto the* Children of Israel, *and shall say unto them, the God of your Fathers hath sent me unto you, and they shall say to me, what is his Name* (or what God is he) *what shall I say unto them?* To this he is commanded to Answer, *I am that I am hath sent you*; that is, the only self existing Beeing, that is, the only Supreme Deity, and God of your Fathers: And for the truth and demonstration of this, he refers both him and them to the following Miracles.

And when *Moses* was discouraged by the complaints of the People, *Chap.* 6. because of

of their ſevere Uſage, the Almighty gives him encouragement upon this powerful Motive, *I am* Jehovah, or *I am the Lord, who will deliver you with a ſtrong Hand*, or *ſtretched out Arm*, i. e. *I am that Omnipotent, ſelf-exiſting Beeing*, and that I ſhall be the Proof of it, the great Miracles that I will work for your Delivery.

And at the time of their Deliverance he immediately inſtitutes the Paſſover, not only as a Memorial of the Thing, but as I ſhall prove afterwards, the ſtrongeſt Bar againſt Idolatry.

But as ſoon as they ſat down at the Foot of Mount *Sinah*, which was their firſt place of Reſt: God's firſt Care was to make further Proviſion againſt *Idolatry*, where after a fearful and glorious Repreſentation of his Preſence, he gives the Ten Commandments, whereof the four firſt are directly level'd againſt Idolatry.

*Firſt*, He enjoyns the Worſhip of Himſelf who by his Almighty Power had delivered them from their *Egyptian* Bondage.

In the next place, He forbids them the Worſhip of all Idols, *i. e.* as himſelf deſcribes them, *The likeneſs*, or ſimilitude, *of any thing that is in Heaven above, or in the Earth beneath*

*beneath, or in the Water under the Earth.* A plain and indeed Logical Definition this, that Idolatry is giving the Worship of the Supreme God, to any created corporeal or visible Deity, or any thing that can be represented by an Image, which nothing but corporeal Beings can, and to suppose such a Beeing the Supreme Deity, is the only true and proper *Idolatry*.

And tho there may seem to be two sorts of it: First, either to Worship a material and created Beeing as the Supreme Deity: Or Secondly, to ascribe any corporeal Form or Shape to the Divine Nature; yet in the Result, both are but one; for to ascribe unto the Supreme GOD any corporeal Form, is the same thing as to Worship a created Beeing, for so is every corporeal Substance.

This is, I say, the true and only Notion of *Idolatry*. And all the Strange Gods mentioned in the Scripture, are only some most glorious Pieces of the visible Creation, as I shall prove at large from undenyable Testimonies. And for this reason it was, that the very Angels, by whom this Affair was immediatly transacted, never made any appearance in any visible Shape, but only in a Cloud, or in a Glory, to prevent the very Peril of *Idolatry*; and there-

therefore *Moſes* in his dying and farewell ſpeech, reminds them over and over, that at *Horeb* they heard the Voice of God, but ſaw no Similitude, with this Application to them, leſt you corrupt your ſelves, *i. e.* by believing that there can be any Similitude of the Supreme Godhead. And as this is the literal and plain Senſe of the two firſt Commandments, ſo it ſeems to be the only Deſign of the Third and Fourth: For the Engliſh of the Third, if it were tightly tranſlated, runs thus; *Thou ſhalt not give the Name of the Lord thy God to a Vanity or Idol*; and ſo the *Septuagint* render it: For the Word Vanity and Idol are Synonomous in Scripture, becauſe an Idol is a vain and empty Thing that repreſents nothing; for when it is ſet up as the Symbol and Image of a Deity that is no Deity, it is the Image of nothing, as St. *Paul* defines it. So that it is not the meer Image it ſelf that is the Idol, but the Image as repreſenting a falſe God, tho it be only a *Symbol*, and not a Picture of him, as moſt of the Heathen Images were, of the *Sun*, as the *Calf*, and the *Ram*. Theſe are the Vanities or Repreſentations of falſe Gods in uſe, at that time among the Neighbour Nations, that ſeem to be here properly

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perly interdicted in this Commandment.

As for the Fourth Commandment, it is the very Sacrament of the Worship of the true God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, in opposition to *Idolatry*, or the Worship of his Creatures, and therefore is prescribed, as it were, as the Holy Day of the Creation, continually to mind the *Jews*, that the God that they Worship, was the God that made the World, and all the Gods that their Neighbours worshiped, particularly the *Sun*, *Moon* and *Stars*, his Creatures.

This then being set up as the great Festival, of the Creator of Heaven and Earth, from thence it was that the Precept of not Worshiping of Idols, and keeping the Sabbath, are so frequently coupled together in Scripture; and that the breach of the Sabbath is punished in the same manner as *Idolatry* it self.

But I shall treat of this more largely when I come to a Review. At present I have only given a narrow Prospect of the whole matter, but upon a full and open View of the *Mosaick* History, it will appear in full and undeniable Evidence, by these Two Considerations.

*First*, If we consider the great Propensi-

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ry of the *Israelites* to renounce the Worship of the One True Invisible God, and to return to their accumstomed Worship of Idol Gods.

*Secondly*, If we consider that these Gods were nothing else but the Heavenly Bodies, and that the *Sun* was worshiped as the Supreme Deity.

As to the first, their continual Revolts, and Rebellions against that Almighty God, of whose Power they had had so much Experience, could proceed from nothing less than the most inveterate and invincible Prejudices. Their whole History from their first Deliverance to their last Captivity, is nothing but a perpetual Series of Disloyaty against the God of *Israel*, *to play the Harlot* (as the Scripture expresses it) *or commit fornication with the Idols of the Gentiles.*

Psal. 78. We have an accurate Epitome of this whole History, the Miracles that God wrought for them in *Ægypt*, in the Wilderness, in the Land of *Canaan*, notwithstanding all which, as they made continual Attempts of Rebellion, so they at last sunk into an universal Apostacy, *v.* 58. *Provoking him to Anger with their High Places, and moving him to Jealousie with their Graven*

*ven Images*; so that at length he gave them up into the Hands of their Enemies: And first the Ten Tribes were lead away Captive, and not long after the Tribe of *Judah*, as it immediatly follows in the same Psalm, *God was wroth, and greatly abhorred* Israel, *so that he forsook the Tabernacle of* Shiloh, *the Tent which he placed among Men; and delivered his Strength into Captivity, and his Glory* (that was the Symbol of his Divine Presence) *into the Enemies Hand.*

But to Trace a few Particulars. The first Opportunity they could gain in the Wilderness, after the miraculous Deliverance out of *Ægypt*, by the absence of *Moses*, they set up and Worshiped the *Golden Calf*, a Form of Worship they were accustomed to in *Ægypt*: what this Idol was, is variously disputed by Learned Men; some will have it to have been made in Imitation of the *Cherubin*, when as yet God had made no Description of them. Others, and almost all the learned, will have it to have been the Idol of *Apis*, or *Serapis*, or *Osyris*, whom the *Ægyptians* worshiped by that Symbol; and that it was the same Idol, is certain; but I take it to be much more antient, for as yet we find not any Foot-steps of Divine Worship

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given to Men and Women. That Folly is of a much younger date, and seems to have been brought in purely by the *Grecian* Vanity, to derive the Originals of all Nations from themselves, and to People Heaven with their own Country-men.

Thus they tell us, that this *Apis* was King of the *Argives*, natural Son to King *Jupiter* by *Niobe*, who marrying *Isis*, left his Kingdom, and went into *Ægypt*, who teaching the Barbarous People Civility, and the Art of dressing Vines and Agriculture, He was by common consent chosen their King; and after he had Reigned with extraordinary Wisdom and Mercy, to the great Improvement of the Nation, when he dyed, they Deify'd him, and Worshiped him under the Image of a *Calf* or *Ox*, all which is pure *Grecian* Fable.

For *Ægypt* had been a famous Nation many hundred Ages, before any of the *Grecian Deities* were born: It was a flourishing Kingdom in the days of *Abraham*: I am sure they knew how to dress their Vines, and plow their Fields, before there was any such Nation as *Greece*, or any of its Cantons known by any Records: There was no News of them till the *Trojan* War, and that

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is the thing objected by all Writers to the *Greeks* both before and since Christianity, that their remoteſt Antiquity is meer Novelty in compariſon of the *Egyptians*, & is confeſt, by their own beſt and moſt ancient Writers; at leaſt in theſe Ancient Times, there were no Men nor Women Deities, Gods or Goddeſſes.

But when the *Greeks* had ſtollen their Religion from the *Eaſtern* Nations, in requital they furniſhed them with Gods of their own and clapt the heads of one of their own Countrymen upon every antient Idol, thereby gaining Reputation of Antiquity, both to their Nation and Religion, as if they had been as Antient as the *Ægyptian* and *Oriental* Idolatry.

Thus they faſten this old Idol of the Golden Calf upon King *Apis*, whereas if there ever were any ſuch Man (for the *Greeks* have neither Faith nor Knowledge enough to be believ'd in one Word in any matter of Antiquity, either of their own, or other Nations) he was born many Ages after this Idol had been Famous in the World: And in that unknown Interval of which there are no Hiſtorical Records, and therefore the whole Story of him, as well as of all the other *Grecian* Gods, is nothing but Fable.

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And much more probable it is, that the *Greeks* were so far from bringing a God *Apis* into *Egypt*, that they carried the very word thence: *Apis* being the *Hebrew* and *Egyptian* Word to signifie a *Calf*, or a *Bullock*, and so it is rendred by the *Septuagint*. *Jerem.* 46. 15. in the Prophetick Burthen against *Egypt*, διατι ἔφυγεν ἀπὸ σοῦ ὁ Ἄπις ὁ μόσχος ὁ ἐκλεκτός σου οὐκ ἔμεινεν ὅτι Κύριος παρέλυσεν αὐτόν. *Why did your* Apis *fly, or that your beloved* Calf *desert you, because the* Lord *did drive him?* Tho we render it in the English Translation, *Why are thy valiant Men swept away.*

*Bochart.* Dr. *Hammond.* Dr. *Spencer.* *Kircher.*

So that the Calf can be nothing else than an Old *Egyptian* Idol, or Symbol of some Deity, that they had been accustomed to Worship. And therefore thinking themselves betray'd or deserted by *Moses* after forty days absence, (*as for this Moses, the Man that brought us up out of the Land of* Egypt, *we wot not what is become of him*) they force *Aaron* to restore to them the Symbols of their Old Gods to go before them, instead of this new God, that now seem'd to have deserted them, and to those they ascribe their Deliverance out of *Egypt*; and this the first chearful Act of Devotion, that they seem to have perform'd

since their Deliverance. For as for all their Worship of the True God, especially at the Delivery of the Law, it seems to be forc'd and uneasie, to which they were rather over-aw'd by dreadful Appearances, than inclin'd by their own Choice.

And the Solemn Sacrifice that was made immediately after, was the Act of *Moses*, rather than the People, who rather seem'd Spectators, than Actors; and therefore as soon as they themselves quit of him (which was immediately after) they set up their Idol, and were transported in their Devotions towards it, to a Degree of madness; Exod. 32. 6. *They rose up early in the Morning, and offered* Burnt-*Offerings, and brought Peace-Offerings, and the People sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play.*

This Solemnity had been endear'd to them by Custom and Education, and there could be no other ground of their great Joy, than that they were restored to the Exercise of their former Religion, and the Worship of their Old Gods, of which the *Calf* was one of the most eminent Symbols, so that when they say that was the God that delivered them out of *Egypt*, their meaning is, the God of which that was the Symbol or Representation,

tion, according to the Language of those Times, and indeed of the whole Old Testament, to give the Name of the Deity to the Idol, *Gen.* 31. 30.

Now at that time we find no other mention of any other Deities, than the *Sun* and *Heavenly Bodies*; so that this *Calf* could be the Symbol of no other Gods than the Sun, and therefore was ever reckoned among their ἱερὰ ζῶα, their *holy Animals*, as the *Egyptian* Priest and Antiquary *Manetho* informs us, of which *Aries* and *Taurus* were the chiefest, and both of them consecrated in honour of the *Sun*, being the two first Signs in the Heavens; but the Festival of *Aries* was the most Solemn, when the Sun entring into that Sign, began the Joyful New Year. In Opposition to which the *Israelites* were commanded to cut the Throat of the Paschal Lamb upon that very Day, with all the Ceremonies of contempt, as shall appear more afterward.

This invincible Obstinacy in their Old Religion, notwithstanding the mighty Works God had wrought for their Delivery, is severely upbraided to them long after by God himself to his Prophet *Amos*, *Have ye offered unto me Sacrifices and Offerings in the Wilderness Fourty Years, O House of Israel?*

*But ye have born the Tabernacle of your* Moloch, *and the Star of your God* Remphan, *and their Images which ye made to your selves;* Chap. 25, 26

This is a plain Description of their great averseness to the Worship of the True God in the Wilderness, when God declares, that in reality they never Worshiped him at all, but stuck close to their Old God *Moloch*, which is but a Synonymous Word for the God *Baal*, *i. e.* the Sun, and therefore they are promiscuously us'd in Scripture to express one and the same Deity. Thus *Jeremy* 19. 5. They have built the High Places of *Baal* to burn their Sons in the Fire for Burnt Offerings unto *Baal*. But Chapter the 32. *v* 35. the same Crime is thus expresst, They built the High Places of *Baal* to cause their Sons & Daughters to pass through the Fire unto *Moloch*; by which it is undeniably evident, that they were but Synonymous Terms for one and the same God; and indeed they are Words of the same Signification, denoting Supreme or Kingly Power, and so were appropriated by them to the Sun, as Soveraign Lord of the Universe.

This Strange Inclination of the *Israelites* to the Idolatry, or the Worship of *Baal* and *Moloch*, is so vehemently upbraided to them

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in the Scripture, as shews it to have been inveterate and impetuous beyond Example: So God himself upbraids it to them, that when he did such mighty things for them in their deliverance from *Egypt*, & only required them to renounce the Idol of *Egypt*. Yet they Rebelled against me, & would not hearken to me; They cast not away the Abomination of their Eyes, nor the Idols of Egypt *Ezek.* 20. 7, 8. And when *Joshua* had setled them in the Holy Land, he forwarns them to serve the True God sincerely; *Josh.* 24. 14 and to put away the Gods which their Fathers served on the other side the Flood, and in Egypt. By which it appears, they had not yet parted with their Old Gods: but the next Generation made a total Revolt; *Judg.* 2. 11. and the Children of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord, and served *Baalim*, and they forsook the Lord God of their Fathers, which brought them out of the Land of *Egypt*, and followed other Gods, of the Gods of the People that are round about them, and bowed themselves unto them, and provoked the Lord to Anger, and they forsook the Lord, and served *Baal* and *Ashteroth*.

This whole Book is nothing else but a Narrative by their Sin of Idolatry, their punishment

ment by Captivity, their Repentance by imploring of the mercy of the God of *Israel*, till at last after so many Relapses, they are thus answered by God in their Addresses and Supplications unto him: *Chron.* 10, 10. 'And the Children of Israel cryed unto the 'Lord, saying, We have sinned against thee, 'both because we have forsaken our God, and 'also served *Baalim*: And the Lord said unto 'the Children of Israel, did not I deliver you 'from the Egyptians, from the Ammorites, 'from the Children of Ammon, from the Phi-'listins? Also the Zidonians and the Amaleki-'tes and Maonites did oppress you, and you 'cry'd to me, and I delivered you out of their 'hand; yet you have forsaken me, and served 'other Gods, wherefore I will deliver you no 'more: go and cry unto the Gods that ye have 'chosen, let them deliver you in the time of your Tribulations. But upon their Reformation they are delivered, and as soon relapse of which a Train of Instances are to be seen in that Book.

Here it may be observ'd all along that the Scripture Notion of Idolatry is renouncing and forsaking the True GOD, to Worship other Gods, or *Baalim*, that is, Idols of the Sun, whom they commonly call'd the King

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of Heaven. And so they sin on, till GOD suffered his own *Ark* (the Symbol of his own Presence) to be carried into Captivity. They apply themselves to *Samuel* to intercede for them; *Samuel* returns them the old Answer that God himself had often made. Sam. 7. 3, 4. *If ye return unto the Lord with your Hearts, then put away the strange Gods, and* Ashteroth *from among you, and prepare your Hearts unto the Lord, and serve him only, and he will deliver you out of the hands of the Philistins. Then the Children of Israel put away* Baal *and* Ashteroth, *and served the Lord only*; Chap. 12.

And *Samuel* at the resigning of his Government, upon the Election of *Saul*, upbraids them with their continual Ingratitude against the Lord their God, from the first deliverance out of *Egypt* to that very Day, in forsaking the Lord to serve *Baalim*. So plain is the practical Notion of Idolatry through the whole Sacred History.

Under the pious Reigns of *David* and *Solomon* the Sin of Idolatry was competently well retrench'd, till the Dotage of *Solomon*, when his Wives and Concubins turn'd away his Heart after other Gods, *So that Solomon went after* Ashteroth *the goddess of the* Zidonians

mans, *and after* Mileom *the Abomination of the Ammonites*; 1 King. 11. 4, 5. But the great Revolt was made by *Jeroboam*, upon the Division of the Kingdom, tho rather upon a Political than Religious Account. 1 King. 12. 16. *Jeroboam said in his heart, now shall the Kingdom return to the House of David, if this People go up to do Sacrifice in the House of the Lord at Jerusalem*; wherefore he makes two Calves of Gold, and said to the People, *It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem, behold thy Gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the Land of* Egypt.

It was only an Artifice to oblige the People to himself by restoring to them their old *Egyptian* Idolatry.

Some will have these Calves to have been set up in imitation of *Solomon's Cherubim*, but this is fully confuted by the learned *Visorius*. 'If *Jeroboam* saith he, by his Calves design'd to imitate the establish'd Reli-

Vide Dr. Spencer, p. 272. 'gion of his Country, I pray you 'when he took these counterfeit 'Cherubs, why not also the *Ark*, the *Propitatory*, the Seat of God, where the Divine 'Majesty appear'd most conspicuously in giving of Oracles, the *Tabernacle* and the *Temple*? Why if they were made only in imitati-

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on of the Cherubs, why did he not call them by their own Name, by which they were known to the People, when that would have been a more easie way to deceive them? Why did he not take the Priests of the Family of *Aaron*, why did he banish them out of his Kingdom, why did not the People comply for three whole Years, if it had been an Imitation of their Old Religion under *David* and *Solomon*. Why if they were nothing but *Cherubins*, are they so often in Scripture styled Gods? Why should he Sacrifice to them, when in the Law of *Moses* no Sacrifices were offered to the *Cherubin*?

So that it is plain that these Calves were set up by him as Idols or Symbols of a new or separate Religion from the Tribe of *Judah*; and tho he took up the old Egyptian Idol for his Foundation, yet he seem'd to have erected a Motley Religion upon it, like that of the *Samaritans* of old, partly to invite the People of all Nations into his Kingdom, where every Man worshiped his own God; and partly by diversity of Religion, more effectually to divide his own Kingdom from that of the Line of *Solomon*.

Tho not long after *Rehoboam* and the Tribe of *Judah* revolt from the Worship of the true

God

God (as the Scripture aggravates it) *above all that their Fathers had done*; 1 Kings 14. 22.

And from this time Idolatry, or the Worship of *Baal*, was the Prevailing Religion in both Kingdoms, tho sometimes check'd by the Piety of reforming Princes. But it spread so fast, that *Elijah* thought himself left alone, tho for his comfort God informed him, that he had the small remainder of 7000 in *Israel*, *all the Knees which have not bowed unto Baal*, 1 King. 19. 14, 18.

But the Infection soon became universal, and tho God Almighty sent his Prophets from time to time to reclaim them, yet all in vain, they still continued to worship the *Host of Heaven*, and serve *Baal*, till finding them irreclaimable, he first delivered the Ten Tribes into the hands of *Shalmaneser*, King of *Assyria*, where they continue in Captivity to this Day, and are a lost Nation; 2 *Kings* 17.

But the Piety of *Hezekiah* at that time for a while repriev'd the Tribe of *Judah*: But his Son *Manasseh* built up again the High Places, which *Hezekiah* his Father had destroyed, 'And he rear'd up Altars for *Baal*, 'and worshiped all the Host of Heaven, and 'served them. Upon this God by his Pro-

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phets denounces their Destruction. *ver.* 15. 'Because, saith he, they have ever done that 'which was evil in my sight, and have provo-'ked me to Anger since the Day their Fathers 'came forth out of *Egypt*, unto this Day; 'or because they have forsaken me; *Chap.* '22. 17. and burnt Incense unto other Gods, 'that they might provoke me to Anger with 'all the work of their Hands; therefore my 'wrath shall be kindled against them, and 'shall not be quenched. But the Execution of the Sentence is suspended during the pious Reign of his Son *Josiah*; 2 *King.* 25. but as soon as he is gathered to his Fathers, *Jerusalem* and the Temple are destroyed by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and King *Zedekiah* with all his People are carried Captive into *Babylon*.

This is a compendious History of the old Jewish Idolatry, and I think a sufficient Proof both of their strange Inclination to it, to the highest degree of madness, and wherein it plainly consisted, their forsaking the true invisible God, to worship created Deities; than which nothing is more evident through the whole Series of Scripture.

To this Evidence I might add a more ample Proof out of the Writings of the Prophets, that are almost wholly imployed upon this

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Subject. But I must not be too tedious, and therefore I shall only observe, that they generally express the greatness of this Folly under the Figure of ungovernable Lust. Thus *Ezekiel* 23. God describes it to the Prophet under this Scheme. Son of man, there were two Women, the Daughters of one Mother, and they committed Whoredoms in *Egypt*, they committed Whoredoms in their Youth; there were their Breasts pressed, and there they bruised the Teats of their Virginity; and the Names of them were *Aholah* the Elder, and *Aholibah* her Sister, and they were mine, and they bare Sons and Daughters; *Samaria* is *Aholah*, and *Jerusalem Aholibah*; and *Aholah* played the Harlot when she was mine, and she doted (*or run mad*) for her Lovers, the *Assyrians* her Neighbours, with all their Idols she defiled herself, neither left she her Whoredoms brought from *Egypt*, for in her Youth (*'tis in the Hebrew*) *before she was ripe of Age*, they lay with her, and they bruised the Breasts of her Virginity, and poured their Whoredome upon her; wherefore I have delivered her into the hand of her Lovers, into the hand of the *Assyrians*, upon whom she doted, *and after whom she grew mad*.

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The same is repeated of her Sister *Aholibah*, who for her incorrigible Adulteries is delivered into the hands of the *Babylonians*; nothing can be expressed with greater vehemence than this, that is compared to the utmost lewdness of Female Lust; and nothing more evident, than that this Lewdness consisted in deserting the true invisible God, to worship the false Deities of their Neighbours, particularly the Gods of the *Egyptians*, *Assyrians* and *Chaldeans*.

And that is my second Head of Discourse, that the Gods that they worshiped at that time were nothing but the Heavenly Bodies, or the Sun, as the Supreme Deity. This is evident enough from what hath already been discoursed, *Idolatry* in general being every where described in Scripture by the Worship of the Host of Heaven, or Heavenly Bodies. Thus *Deut.* 4. 19. 'Lest 'thou lift up thine Eyes to Heaven, and when 'thou seest the *Sun* and the *Moon*, and the '*Stars*, even all the Host of Heaven, shouldst 'be driven (*tempted*) to worship them, which 'the Lord thy God created for the use and be-'nefit of all Nations under the whole Heaven' So *Chap.* 17. *v.* 2, 3. 'If there be found a-'ny among you that have wrought Wicked-'ness

'ness in the sight of the Lord your God in 'transgressing his Covenant, and hath gone 'and served other Gods, and worshiped them, 'either the Sun, or Moon, or any of the Host 'of Heaven, ye shall stone him to Death, 2 *Kings* 17. 16. 'They left all the Commandments of the Lord their God, and 'made them Molten Images, two Calves, 'and made a Grove, and worshiped all the 'Host of Heaven, and served *Baal*. So '*Manasseh* erected Altars to *Baal*, and wor'shiped the Host of Heaven, *chap.* 21. 3. 'So *Josiah*, when he destroyed Idolatry, 'brought out the Vessels of the Host of Hea'ven.

And the Jews, when after their return to Captivity, they would enter their solemn Protestation against *Idolatry*, they do it in this form, 'Thou even thou art Lord alone, thou 'hast made Heaven, the Heaven of Heavens, 'with all their Host, &c. *Nehemiah* 9. 6. So *Jeremiah* 19. 13. '*Jerusalem* and *Judah* 'shall be destroyed because they have burned 'Incense unto all the Host of Heaven, and 'have poured out Drink Offerings unto other 'Gods. So *Zephaniah* 1. 5. God threatens 'to destroy the Worshipers of *Baal*, and of 'the Host of Heaven: And lastly, St. *Ste-*

*phan*

*Shan* in his laſt Speech upbraiding the Jews with their Idolatry, ſays; 'that God gave 'them up to worſhip the Hoſt of Heaven.

So evident is the Practical Notion of *Idolatry*, through the whole Series of Scripture, that it was the worſhiping the Heavenly Bodies as the ſupreme Deities, or as *Job* emphatically expreſſes it. *Chap.* 31. *ver.* 26. 'If I beheld the Sun when it ſhin'd, or the 'Moon walking in brightneſs, and my heart 'hath been ſecretly enticed, or my Mouth 'hath kiſſed my hand, this alſo were an Ini-'quity to be puniſhed by the Judge, for I 'ſhould have denyed the moſt High God.

What can be more plain than this Definition of Idolatry, that it is the Worſhip of the *Sun* and *Moon*, becauſe it would have excluded the Worſhip due only to the moſt High GOD? And the very Word, that we commonly tranſlate *Images* in general, ſignifies properly Images of the *Sun*. Thus *Leviticus* 26. 30. God threatens them, I *will deſtroy your* Images, as we tranſlate it; but in the Hebrew your *Chamanim*, i. e. Images of the *Sun*. So the ſecond of *Chronicles*, *chap.* 34. *v.* 7. And ſo it is ſometimes in the Margent even in the Engliſh Tranſlation (*or* Sun Images) as *Iſaiah* 17. 8. *Ezek.* 6. 4. And

And so all learned Men of all Nations, all Religions, ever understood the old Notion of *Idolatry*, till this last Age, when Folly and Passion cast it at any thing that peevish Men were angry with. So *Rabbi Maimon*, the most learned and judicious of the Jewish Doctors, discourses at large that the ancient Idolatry was nothing but the Religion of the Eastern Nations, who acknowledge no other Deities but the *Stars*, among whom the *Sun* was supreme, in Opposition to which false Principle, he sayes, God enacted the *Law of Moses*.

*Mora Nebuch.* Lib. 3

This was the sense of all the other old Heathen Nations, as may be seen at large in *Eusebius*'s Collections of their several Opinions in his First and Third Book of the *Prepration of the Gospel*, where he proves, that the ancient Heathens worshiped only the *Stars* without any Notion of *Heroes* and *Demons*. The same is attested by all the Historians; by *Diodorus Seculus* of the *Egyptians*, by *Herodotus* of the *Persians* and *Caldeans*, by *Strabo*, and *Justin* of the *Arabians*, by *Cæsar* of the *Germans*; so *Macrobius*, in his first Book *Saturnal*, proves it of all the ancient Idolaters, that it was the Worship of the Sun as the supreme Diety. So in the

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ancient Hymn to *Jupiter* ascribed to *Orpheus*, it is the Sun only that is all along adored.

In short, so all learned Men interpret all the several Idols that we read of in the Holy Scriptures; particularly those two learned Protestants, Mr. *Selden*, in his learned Book *De Diis Syris*; and *Gerard Vossius*, *de Idolatria*, proves all the Idols mentioned in Scripture to have been only so many several Appellations of the Sun, whom the Ancient Idolaters believed to have been the supreme God, and Creator of the World; as *Baal*, *Baal Peor*, *Bel*, *Moloch*, *Dagon*, *Baalzebub Mythras*, &c. In a Word, the whole Nation of the Critiques, that agree in nothing else, are unanimous here; tho indeed the thing is so evident in all the Accounts, Histories and Descriptions of the Ancient Idolatry, that it is to me the greatest astonishment in the World, that Men should apply it to any other purpose.

I know there was another sort of *Idolatry* introduced afterward, the *Worship* of *Men* and *Women*, but I find no such practice in the Scriptures, but take it to have been much more modern, and a meer Invention of the vain and lying *Greeks*; but whensoever it

came in, it was grafted upon the old Stock, of giving the Worship of the supreme God, not only to created but to mortal Beeings.

Here it were easie to wander into a large Field of Mythologick Mystery; but besides that, I take all Mythology to be much more Fable than the literal Fable it self: I have resolved to confine my self to the Information of the holy Scriptures, from whence, as we have the most infallible Testimony that can be had, so in this case we can have no other, all other Writings whatsoever being by some Thousands of years too modern to give any Account from their own Knowledge of those Ancient Times.

And for a more accurate Account of this, I shall refer the Reader to that admirable Book of Dr. *Spencers*, concerning the Jewish Laws and the Reasons of them, in which he proves every Minute Circumstance of the ritual and ceremonial Law to have been enacted only for the prevention of *Idolatry* or *Sun-Worship*. There any Gentleman that delights in ancient Learning, may have his glut of pleasure and satisfaction; for beside the great Compass and Variety of polite Literature, he hath brought Wit, Sense, Reason and Ingenuity into the *Synagogue*. I will only ex-

exemplifie the thing in some few Particulars.

The first is the Institution of some Rites peculiar to God's own Worship, both as a Bar to preserve them from any other Worship, in which those Rites were not used, and as an Obligation to bind them the faster to their Duty to himself; among these the chiefest are *Circumcision* and the *Sabbath*, which he instituted, as it were, the two *Sacraments* of the Jewish Religion, or the Worship of the Creator of Heaven and Earth, to distinguish them from their Neighbour Nations, who Worship only his Creatures.

With Circumcision God sign'd his Covenant with *Abraham*, which was the first Revelation of himself against Idolatry, and the Foundation of the whole *Mosaick* Law, which was seal'd to, by this sacred Rite of Circumcision; so that without it, they were esteemed no better than *Idolaters*, and an uncircumcised Man signifies no less than an *Heathen*.

This Reason is expresly given by God himself at the first Institution of it in his Covenant with *Abraham*: *Gen.* 17, 7, 10. 'I will establish my Covenant between thee 'and me, and thy seed after thee in their Ge'nerations for an everlasting Covenant, to be

'a God unto thee, and to thy ſeed after thee. 'This is my Covenant which ye ſhall keep 'between Me and You, and thy ſeed after 'thee, every Male Child among you ſhall be 'Circumciſed. And you ſhall circumciſe 'the Fleſh of your Fore-skin, and it ſhall be 'a Token of the Covenant betwixt you and 'me, and therefore the uncircumciſed ſhall 'be cut off from his People, as having 'broken my Covenant, *i. e.* renounced 'the true Religion, which is, as *Grotius* obſerves, not reaſonably to be underſtood of Infants, but of Men grown to years of Underſtanding, whoſe Parents had neglected that Office in their Infancy, and therefore if they did not ſupply that Defect; when they came to Age, it was looked upon as renouncing the Worſhip of the true God, of which this was the firſt Sacrament or Ceremony of Admiſſion into the Jewiſh Church, which alone profeſs'd it, and that is the reaſon of *St Paul's* Aſſertion, *Gal.* 5. 3. *Every Man that is circumciſed, is a Debtor to do the whole Law, i. e* he that willingly and knowingly undergoes this initiating Ceremony, by Vertue of that he obliges himſelf to the Obſervation of the whole *Moſaick* Law, and all things commanded in it.

And for this Reaſon no Proſelyte was admitted

mitted to the Paſchal Feſtival, the moſt ſacred Solemnity of the Jewiſh Religion, without Circumciſion. *Exodus* 12. 48, 'When 'a ſtranger ſhall ſojourn with thee, and will 'keep the Paſſover to the Lord, let all his 'Males be circumciſed, and then let him come 'near, and keep it, and he ſhall be as one 'that is born in the Land; for no uncircum-'ciſed Perſon ſhall eat thereof.

This ſeems to be the meaning of that Paſſage. *Joſhua* 5 9. when God commanded *Joſhua* to circumciſe all the People, that were born in the Wilderneſs, and that indeed is all then living; for thoſe that came out of *Ægypt* were dead, and when *Joſhua* had done it, God tells him, *This day have I rolled away the Reproach of* Ægypt *from off you*; the reproach of *Ægypt* was their Idolatry, which they had now renounced by the Sacrament of Circumciſion. And accordingly in the Perſecution of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, to aboliſh the Jewiſh Religion, and eſtabliſh Idolatry, the Jews are commanded to leave their Children uncircumciſed; and the Apoſtates endeavoured to blot out the Marks of their Circumciſion; and certain Women that had taken care to circumciſe their Children, *were*

1 Mac. 1. v. 15, 48, 60, 61.

*put*

*put to Death, and the Infants hanged about their Necks.* That was the distinctive Mark through all Ages between a Worshiper of the true God and an Idolater. So that it was the same thing, not to be circumcised, and to apostatise to Idolatry.

The second, and indeed the greatest Bar of all against Idolatry, was the *Institution* of the *Sabbath* in memory of Gods Creation of the whole visible World, and for that reason this Doctrine of the *Sabbath*, was reputed as fundamental an Article in the Jewish Church as the Doctrine of the *Cross* in the Christian, because all other Articles of their Religion depended upon the belief of their God's Creation of the World.

And therefore when God had given *Moses* a compleat Body of Laws for his own Worship, he ratifies, and as it were comprises them all in a vehement and reiterated pressing that one Law of the Sabbath, *Exod.* 31. *v.* 12. to the end of the Chapter. And after the Children of *Israel* had committed Idolatry in worshiping the golden Calf, for which God had for some time cast them off, he is at last prevailed upon by *Moses* to renew his Covenant with them upon a new Contract. First that they Worship none of the Gods of the

the Heathen Nations, nor ever use any of their Rites and Ceremonies. And then that they be more careful to observe the Passeover and the Sabbath, *Exod.* 34. 12.

And the Observation of the Sabbath is again enforced in the very beginning of the next Chapter, as the Bond and Epitome of the whole Law. *And Moses gathered all the Congregation of the Children of Israel together, and said unto them, these are the words which the Lord hath commanded that ye should do them. Six days shall work be done, but on the Seventh day, there shall be to you a holy day a Sabbath of rest to the Lord, whosoever doth work therein shall be put to death;* As if the Sabbath alone were the whole Law, according to the saying of the *Talmud*, *Whosoever denies the Sabbath, denies the whole Law.* Because that's an Acknowledgement of the Creator of the World, as the Author of the *Mosaick* Law. And for that reason the Almighty upon all occasions styles Himself in Scripture, *Creator of Heaven and Earth*, which we (improperly enough) translate *Possessor* of Heaven and Earth; and indeed the History of the Creation it self, and the whole Pentateuch, seem to have been written on purpose to prevent Idolatry, or the Worship

Worſhip of creared Beeings; and therefore *Moſes* doth not ſet down the Creation of the Univerſe in groſs, but of every part by it ſelf, particularly of the Sun, Moon, and Stars. And that is in it ſelf a ſufficient Security againſt giving them that were meer Creatures, the Worſhip that is only due to the Creator.

And this ſeem to be the reaſon of the particular form of words in the Fourth Commandment, *Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy, for in ſix days the Lord made Heaven and Earth, and reſted the ſeventh day*; As if he had ſaid, be ſure that you be particularly mindful of this Commandment of the Sabbath above all others, for it is a day dedicated to the Eternal Memory of the Creation, and therefore enjoyn'd to be obſerv'd every Seventh day, that it may continually bring to mind that great work, and never ſuffer it to decay out of thy Memory.

And from hence it is that the Precepts of not worſhiping Idols, and obſerving the Sabbath, are ſo frequently coupled together in the Scriptures, as if they were inſeparable. *Exod.* 23. 12, 13. *Six days thou ſhalt do thy work, and on the ſeventh day thou ſhalt reſt, and make no mention of the Names of*

*other*

*other Gods, neither let them be heard out of thy mouth.* Levit. 19. *ver.* 34. *Ye shall keep my Sabbaths, I am* Jehovah *your God, turn ye not unto Idols, nor make to your selves molten Gods: I am the Lord your God.* Lev. 26. 1, 2. *Ye shall make you no Idols, ye shall keep my Sabbaths.* Ezek. 20. 18, 20. *Walk ye not in the Statutes of your Fathers, nor defile your selves with your Idols, and hallow my Sabbaths that are for a sign between you and me, that you may know that I am* Jehovah *your God; for their hearts went after their Idols:* so v. 24. *they polluted my Sabbaths.*

And as these Commands are so frequently joyned together, so is the violation of them, as if they could not be parted, *Ezek.* 20. 16. They polluted my Sabbaths, and their eyes were after their Fathers Idols. And King *Ahaz* when he set up Idolatry, he in contempt turned the Covert for the Sabbath out of the House of the Lord. 1 *Mac.* 1. 44. And many of the People consented to the command of the King, and sacrificed to Idols, and prophaned the Sabbath. 2 *King.* 16. 18. So necessary was it for the observation of the Sabbath, and Worship of the true God, to run the same Fate, or stand and fall together; because the Sabbath was instituted in memory

of

of the Creation of the world by the true God; and therefore the belief and observation of it, was an open Defyance to all Idolatry, as the Psalmist joyns them together, All the Gods of the Heathens are Idols: But the Lord made the Heavens; *Psal.* 96. 5.

And this is the distinctive Character that God hath given between himself, the only true God, and the Heathen Idols or Vanities; *Jer.* 10. 11, 12. The Gods that have not made the Heavens and the Earth shall perish from the Earth, and from under the Heavens. The Lord hath made the Earth by his Power, he hath framed the Universe by his Wisdom, and hath stretched out the Heavens by his Discretion.

Now the Observation of the Sabbath, as instituted in honour of the invisible Creator of the visible or material World, being the Fundamental Article of Faith in the Jewish Church, in opposition to Idolatry, or giving the Worship of the supreme Deity to created Beeings, it is for that reason more frequently recited than any other Law, and its Breach as severely punished as Idolatry it self the recital of this Command is almost half of the Law and the Prophets, and the violation of it certain Death, as a Crime of the same Nature

ture with Idolatry it self. So evident is it through the whole Series of sacred History that the Sabbath was instituted in opposition to Idolatry, and that the Idolatry it was opposite to, was the Worship of created Beeings as the supreme uncreated Deity.

To conclude this Argument, tho I designed to confine my self to the Testimony of Holy Scripture, that is the only competent Witness in the case: yet I find such a pregnant Passage cited out of St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria* to the same purpose with the Premises, from his own Obervations of the Train of Scripture History, that it were great pity to rob the Reader of so fair an Authority, 'After the '*Israelites*, (says he) left their own Coun-'try to sojourn in Egypt, in process of time 'they lost all memory of their Ancestors, and 'descent from the Line of *Abraham* 'so that their ancient Customs being 'worn out by degrees, and the Re-'ligion of their Forefathers disus'd, they were 'at length debauched by conversation with 'the *Egyptians* to Idolatry, and gave wor-'ship of the supreme God to the *Sun*. and un-'der him to the *Heavens*, *Earth*, *Moon*, '*Stars*. And therefore when God delivered 'them out of their *Egyptain* Bondage, to 'to bring them to the promised Land, he 'pe-

Hom. 6. de fest. Pasch.

'peremptorily commands them to discard all 'their *Egyptian* Errors; but because their 'was need of an evident sign, by which they 'should, as it were, be forced to confess, that 'Heaven was made by his Almighty Power; 'and that the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and all 'other Beeings, were the works of his hands, 'he commands the Festival of the Sabbath as 'a Memorial and Imitation of himself and his 'work; and therefore they that devote them-'selves to rest as their Creator rested, by that 'acknowledge, that all other things were the 'product of his Power; and that is the natu-'ral design of the Sabbath Rest, to affect them 'with a sence of the supreme Deity, or Creator 'of all things.

In the second place, a very great and considerable part of the *Mosaick* Law was enacted, purely in Opposition to the Old Heathen Rites and Customs. Here I omit the Idolatry of the *Zabii*, so much of late insisted upon by learned Men, because I find no ancient Footsteps of any such People in the World.

The *Mahometan Arabick* Writers are the first that make any mention of them, and their Divinity (as the *Arabians* describe it) is a meer Fanatick Rhapsody of *Chaldaism*, or *Astro-*

*Aſtrologick* Idolatry, *Judaiſm*, or the Hiſtory of the *Patriarchs* turned into Fables; *Gnoſticiſm*, or the Worſhip of *Demons* and Angels; *Pythagoriſm*, or turning all things into Allegories, and therefore muſt be of a much younger Date than Chriſtianity.

The firſt time we read of them, is in the *Alchoran*, and *Mahomet* gives them that name *Zabii*, becauſe they lay Eaſtward from *Arabia*, for ſo the Word ſignifies *Eaſterlings*: Or more probably from a Fanatick Imitation of the Old Teſtament, that frequently and commonly ſtyles the Heathen Idolaters by the Title *of the men of the Eaſt*, *i.e.* the *Chaldeans*, who were ſituated Eaſtward of *Judea*.

After him we have no account of any ſuch Nation as the *Zabii*, till about Eight Hundred Years ſince. For the Prophet and his barbarous Followers, as they conquered, deſtroyed all Monuments of Learning, till being ſetled in Peace and Empire, (as is the manner of all Barbarians) they betook themſelves to the humour of Learning, and tranſlated Books out of other Languages, not only *Greek* and *Latin*, but of their Neighbour Nations into their own Tongue.

This

This is the moſt ancient Account, after all the noiſe that has been made of their extreme Antiquity, that we have of any *Zabian* Writers; ſo that ſetting that Modern Nation aſide, the *Moſaick* Rites were inſtituted in oppoſition to the more ancient Idolatry of their Neighbour Nations, particularly the *Ægyptians* and the *Canaanites*, of whom there was moſt danger by reaſon of their late converſation with the one, and their new converſation with the other. And therefore againſt theſe God arms them with a ſpecial Caution, *Lev.* 18. 3. 'After the doings of the Land of 'Ægypt, wherein ye dwelt ſhall ye not do; 'and after the doings of the Land of *Canaan*, 'whether I bring you, ſhall ye not do; neither 'ſhall ye walk in their Ordinances.'

This contrariety of the Jews to the Laws and Cuſtoms of all other Nations is made uſe of by *Haman* to King *Ahaſuerus* to procure their Deſtruction: *Eſther* 3. 8. 'And 'Haman ſaid to King *Ahaſuerus*, there is 'a certain People ſcattered abroad, and diſ-'perſed among the People in all the Provin-'ces of thy Kingdom, and their Laws are di-'vers from all People, neither keep they the 'Kings Laws; and therefore it is not for the 'King's Intereſt to ſuffer them. If it pleaſe

the

'the King, let it be writen that they may be 'deſtroyed.

This is perpetually objected by *Manetho* the Egyptian Prieſt againſt the Jews, that they aimed at nothing ſo much in the Rites of their Religion, as to affront and reflect defiance upon the Egyptian Devotion. And ſo *Tacitus* his accout of them is this; *Hiſt.* l. 5. *Moſes ut ſibi in poſterum Judæorum gentem firmaret, novos ritus contrarioſque cæteris mortalibus indidit; Prophana illis omnia, quæ apud nos ſacra; rurſum conceſſa apud illos, quæ nobis inceſta.* Moſes, that he might the better confirm the Jewiſh Nation to himſelf, inſtituted new Rites, contrary to the cuſtoms of the reſt of Mankind; what is moſt ſacred with us, is moſt prophane with them; and what is eſteemed moſt abominable, is allowed to them as lawful and innocent.

This is the certain ground of that known univerſal contempt and hatred of all other Nations againſt the Jews: And ſo that Paſſage in *Jeremiah, chap* 12. *ver.* 9. is applyed by *Grotius* to the *Jews*, Mine Heritage is unto me as a ſpeckled Bird; the Birds round about her are againſt her: Mine Inheritance is become like a ſtrange Bird, and is purſued by all

all the Birds of the Field; As when a Bird of a ſtrange Colour, happens to conſort with other Birds, it is natural for them all to ſet upon it; and this was the caſe of the Jews in reference to all their Neighbour Nations.

It were an endleſs work to recite all the Rites particular to the Jews, and inſtituted in contradiction to the Cuſtoms of their Neighbours, when it is the only reaſon that runs through almoſt all their Laws even to the boiling of a Kid or Lamb in its Dams Milk; to the ſowing of divers Seeds together; plowing with an Ox and an Aſs; wearing Linſey-Woolſey, *&c.* And therefore I ſhall only inſtance in two remarkable particulars.

The Inſtitution of the Paſſover; And the Law againſt Sacrificing in High Places, both which are enjoyn'd as moſt effectual Remedies againſt Idolatry.

The Paſſover was the firſt Law inſtituted by God, at, or upon their Deliverance out of *Egypt*; *Exod.* 12. 3. In the Tenth day of the Month, they ſhall take to them every Man a Lamb, a Male of the firſt Year, according to the houſe of their Fathers. In the Obſervation of this great Solemnity, as it is there preſcribed, every the moſt minute Circumſtance

ſtance is an expreſs defiance to the Egyptian Follies. Firſt, the Paſchal Lamb muſt be a Male a year old, that is a young Ram; and that was the greateſt Affront that could be put upon the Egyptians, that held a Ram not only in religious eſteem, but the moſt Sacred of all their Holy Animals in more Ancient times, as the Symbol of the Sun entring the Sign *Aries*, and beginning the new Year. And afterwards of *Jupiter Ammon*, whom the *Greeks* planted upon the Stock of the Old Egyptian Idol of the Sun.

Now upon the account of the ſacredneſs of theſe Animals, they never offered any of their Species in Sacrifice. And hence when *Pharoah* bid *Moſes* go Sacrifice to the Lord in the Land of *Egypt*, *Moſes* anſwers, that they dare not, *Exod.* 8. 26, Becauſe it would be an Abomination to the *Ægyptians*, ſo that they would ſtone them; that is, it would be a Prophaneneſs and open Affront to the Religion of the *Ægyptians* if they ſhould offer in Sacrifice (according to the cuſtom of their Fore-fathers) thoſe very Animals that the *Ægyptians* had conſecrated to the Honour of their Gods. And for the ſame reaſon they are commanded to Sacrifice the Paſſover with a young Bullock, as well as a

young Ram; *Deut.* 16. 2. out of the Flock, or out of the Herd, as the Scripture expresses it. And when King *Josiah* kept, after a long intermission, a most solemn Passover, besides Lambs and *Kids*, he gave to the People 3000 Bullocks: 2 *Chron.* 25. 7.

Now next to a Ram the Bullock was the most *Sacred* of all the Holy Animals, and therefore made the second *Sign* in the *Zodiack*. And therefore when the *Greeks*, or later *Egyptians*, gave the first Symbol to *Jupiter Ammon*, their supreme God, they gave the second to *Osyris*, by them commonly called *Apis* (not understanding that that word only signifyed the Image, not the Deitie) so that here *Tacitus* his Malice is not much in the wrong; *Cæso Ariete velut in contumeliam Ammonis, Bos quoque immolatur, quem Egyptii Apim vocant.* They sacrifice a *Ram* in Affront to *Ammon*, and a *Bullock* in Affront to *Osyris*. Beside, it must be a Male, not a Female, because the *Egyptians* and Heathens (who indeed generally followed the Egyptian Customs, especially the *Greeks*) used only Females in their Sacrifices.

But the most observable circumstance in this whole Solemnity, is the time of its Celebration; *Exod.* 12. 36. the Lamb was to be

be solemnly set apart for the Sacrifice on the Tenth Day of the Month, till the Fourteenth because on the Tenth Day, on which the Sun entred the Sign *Aries*, began the great Festival of *Aries*, or the New Year; so that beginning the Jewish Passover at the same time, it was a manifest Triumph over the Egyptian Deity, by cutting the Throat of the poor Beast, with as much Solemnity as the Egyptians at that very time worship'd it.

And for the same reason a Cow that was sacred to *Isis*, or rather to some more ancient Deity, I suppose the *Moon*, was commanded to be driven out of the Camp, and burnt as an unclean Beast; *Num.* 19. and so because the Egyptians addressed their Worship to a Goat, as the Symbol of some Deity, probably the Sun in that Sign, God commanded the Jews to make use chiefly of Goats in their Expiatory Sacrifices, and particularly the Scape Goats, laden with all the Sins, and all the Curses of the People; and hence the *Israelites* were strictly forbidden to sacrifice to Goats, which we translate Devils: *Lev.* 17.7. And they shall no more offer sacrifice to Devils, (τοῖς τράγοις) to Goats, after whom they have gone a whoring. This shall be a Statute for ever unto them throughout their Generations.

But to return to the Paſchal Ram, all the circumſtances of the Inſtitution carry à remarkable ſignificancy in them; Thus when they are commanded to beſmear the Side-poſts, and upper Door-poſts or Lintal of every Houſe: What could have been a more publick contempt of the Egyptian Religion, when by it they declared, that the Almighty Power that had prov'd it ſelf by ſo many Miracles and Judgements, eſpecially this Laſt in the Death of the Firſt born, commanded to put all manner of contempt upon thoſe Creatures that were conſecrated to the Worſhip of their Gods, and to leave thoſe Bloody Poſts of the Egyptians, as Monuments of their baffled Deities?

And tho I have no Reverence to the Authority of the Jewiſh Rabbies in the account of ancient times, being not only very trifling, but very Modern Writers; yet there is cited an excellent Paſſage out of R. *Abraham Seba*, that I cannot omit to recite, not for its Authors ſake, but its own. 'The *Egyptians* 'began the computation of their Months 'from the time that the Sun entred *Aries*; 'and this whole Month was celebrated with 'extraordinary Feſtival Solemnity, and was 'more ſacred than all the Months of the year, 'beſide.

'beſide. God therefore deſigned to ſet his 'People at as great a diſtance as could be from 'the Cuſtoms of the Heathens, commanded 'them to begin the year, not from the Full 'Moon, as the *Ægyptians* did, but from the 'firſt day of the Month; and whereas the *Æ-* '*gyptians* ſpared their Cattle, and durſt not 'ſo much as eat *Rams* Fleſh, therefore they 'are commanded to kill, roaſt, and eat it; 'ſo that whereas they offer Incenſe to it, and 'perform their ſolemn Devotions before it, 'theſe are commanded in contempt to ſprin- 'kle the Blood of this moſt Holy Animal up- 'on the very Threſhold of their Houſes. *So far the Doctor.*

So again they are commanded not to eat the Paſchal Ram raw, in oppoſition to the Cuſtoms of the ancient and barbarous Heathen Nations, who eat all their Sacrifices raw, eſpecially at their ſigning of Covenants and Treaties of Peace; and that is the original Reaſon of the Command to abſtain from Blood.

Then it is to be eaten in one Houſe, not to be eaten abroad in ſolemn Pomp and Proceſſion, as the Heathen Prieſts did their raw Sacrifices. Nor *a bone of it to be broken*, becauſe the Heathen Prieſts in their pretended holy

holy Rage were wont to tear their Sacrifices in pieces with their Teeth. The *Head with the Legs and Purtenance to be eaten*, becauſe the Heathens only eat the *Viſcera*, or Inwards, *nothing of it to remain till the morning*, leſt it ſhould be abus'd to ſuperſtitious uſes, as the Heathens did the Relicks of their Sacrifices, who ſold them to the People as a Charm againſt Diſeaſes and ill Luck.

All which circumſtances are moſt particularly remarkable in the *Bacchanalia*, or great Feſtival of *Bacchus*, that the *Greeks* ſtole out of *Ægypt*, as well as all their other Superſtitions, as the moſt learned of them confeſs: And concerning the *Bacchanalia* in particular, *Herodotus* tells us by whom they were firſt brought out of *Egypt* into *Greece*, *viz.* the famous Phyſician *Melampus*.

Laſtly, the *Paſſover was not to be ſodden in Water*, becauſe the *Egyptians* and *Syrians* always boil their Sacrifices, eſpecially to *Horus* or the *Sun*; and for that reaſon it is, that this little circumſtance is ſo often urged, and ſo ſtrictly obſerv'd. And this is particularly objected by *Manetho* the *Egyptian* againſt the Jews, that they were not content only to deſtroy τὰ ἱερὰ ζῶα, *their Conſecrated*

*Ani-*

*Animals*, but consumed them by Fire, as it were burning their Gods in Effigie.

These are the great Reasons, why the Divine Law-giver laid so much stress upon this Solemnity, and all the circumstances belonging to it; when it was the grand Diagnostick, or distinguishing Character between the worshipers of the true God, and of created Deities.

And therefore upon all Apostacies of the People from their Religion, it was the custom of their pious Princes to recal them, by reviewing and renewing the Laws of the Paschal Festival. So *Josiah*, when he set himself to abolish all Relicks of Idolatry, and establish the Worship of the true God for ever: He commanded all the People, saying, *Keep the Passover unto the Lord your God; as it is written in the Book of the Covenant. Surely there was not holden such a Passover from the days of the Judges that judged Israel, nor of the Kings of Judea.*

That was an undenyable Proof of their compleat Reformation.

2. The second Law enjoyn'd in opposition to Egyptian Idolatry, is that against sacrificing upon High Places, which were Egyptian Altars built in the form of High Towers, that they

they might make nearer approaches to the Sun in their Devotions. And therefore God, on the contrary, commands the *Iſraelites* to ſacrifice to Himſelf upon a low Altar of Earth. *Exod.* 20.24, 26. without ſteps or ſtairs; which Laws were given either with, or immediately after the Ten Commandments, as it ſeems of equal weight with them.

So that to offer Sacrifices upon High Places, is always repreſented in Scripture as a very high Act of Idolatry; and to deſtroy the high Places in Scripture as an eminent Act of Reformation, which muſt be underſtood of Towers, not of Mountains, that are not ſo eaſily demoliſhed. So *Levit.* 26. 30. *I will deſtroy your High Places, and cut down your Images*, [ or Chamanim ] *and caſt your Carcaſes upon the Carcaſes of your Idols, and my Soul ſhall abhor you.* So *Numbers* 22. 41. Balack *took* Balaam *and brought him up into the High Places*, or *Pillars*, as the Septuagint always render it by στήλη *of* Baal, *that thence he might ſee the utmoſt part of the People.* So Numb. 33. 52. *Ye ſhall drive out all the Inhabitants of the Land before you, deſtroy all their*

*Pic-*

*Pictures and molten Images; and pluck down all their High Places.*

In the Hiſtorical and Prophetick Writings, *Idolatry* is almoſt everywhere expreſt by *Sacrificing* or Worſhiping in High Places. The Idol Prieſts are ſtyled *Prieſts* of the *High Places.*

This, ſays *Herodotus*, was the received Cuſtom of the ancient Nations, and of this Nature were the Ægyptian Pyramids; and that which is ſtill ſtanding is built in the form of an Altar, *i. e.* a four ſquare Plane, ten Cubits broad on every ſide, (not as it is vulgarly ſuppos'd, a Point or Spire) to which the Prieſt advanced by 250 Aſcents, which *Herodotus*, that viewed them above 2000 Years ago, ſays, were ſo many leſſer Altars. But that the Pyramids were ſuppoſed in the more polite Times, to have been ancient Altars, is evident from that known Verſe of *Lucan.*

*Votaque Pyramidum celſas ſolvuntur ad Aras,*

There are Monuments of this ancient cuſtom ſtill remaining in the *Weſt Indies. Gage* in his Survey, deſcribes ſuch a Tower in the middle

middle of the great Temple at *Mexico*, of an 180 Ascents, wheir their Priests offered all their Sacrifices.

In short, the People of *Israel* were so fond of these High Altars, that some Princes, who would have demolisht them as pieces of Idolatry, were forced to desist for fear of popular Tumults and Seditions. So *Asa* in his Reformation, 1 *Kings* 15. 14. when he burnt their Idols, could not remove their High Places. So *Jehoash* could do every thing, 1 *Kings*, 22. 43. but remove the High Places. So *Amaziah* 2 *Kings*, 12. 3. was forced to leave them behind him: So his Son *Azariah*, *Chap.* 14. 4. and when they were demolished by *Hezekiah*, and some of the more pious Princes, they were ever first restored at the Peoples return to *Idolatry*.

And agreeable to what is here represented is the Reason annexed to the Divine Law, lest ye discover your nakedness; which words, tho they may be literally taken, yet according to the Language of Scripture in this matter, they have a much higher meaning, *i. e.* lest ye commit *Idolatry* or Adultery with other Gods, and expose your shame and nakedness by playing the Harlot upon your

your High Places: These two Things, *Idolatry* and *Adultery* being so frequently joyned together in Scripture, as the same Crime.

Thus far, to mention no more, it pleased God to provide against *Idolatry*, by enacting special Laws in direct Opposition to the Heathen Rites.

When God had casher'd the more rank and notorious Acts of Heathen Worship, he retained some of their more innocent Rites, especially those that were derived from the ancient Patriarchs, before the latter Corruptions were crept in, lest if God had given a Law altogether new, and abolished all their Old Customs, People that are always fond of the Usages of their Fore-fathers, should rather have revolted to the Heathen Idolatry, than submit themselves to such a new and uncouth Religion; and therefore out of condescention to their rudeness and weakness, God permitted them to retain several of their former Rites and Ceremonies in his New Worship, that by that Indulgence he might win them more easily to embrace his New Institution.

And this seems to be the *Grammatical* Sence of St. *Paul*'s Expression, *Acts* 13. 18.

*That*

*That* God *suffered their Manners in the Wilderness Forty Years*, where the Word προεφερεν *suffered*, is taken from the Use or Language of Mothers or Nurses, that are forced to honour and comply with the little Follies of their Children by any way to please them.

In allusion to this word, God was pleased to express his Treatment of the Children of *Israel*, who knowing the weakness of their rude and childish Understandings, permitted and indulged them to enjoy not a few of their former Conceits, together with his own Divine Law.

And so *Moses* lets them know in his Farewell Speech, *Deut.* 1. 31. *That the Lord had all along born with them, as a Father doth with his Child.* And so *Grotius* paraphrases that passage of St. *Paul*, *Gal.* 4. 3. *When we were Children, we were in Bondage under the Elements of the World*, i. e. says he, we were under subjection to those Rites and Usages that were common to us with the rest of the World, as Temples, Altars, Sacrifices, New Moons, to which he might have added, Oblations of First Fruits, Purifications, Festival Solemnities, Tabernacles, Dedication of Tenths, the Ark, the Che-

Cherubin or Teraphim (for they are promiſcuouſly uſed in Scripture, and are of very ancient uſe:) Theſe, and the like old Cuſtoms were enjoyned the People of *Iſrael*, leſt for want of them they ſhould relapſe to *Idolatry*.

And becauſe theſe Cuſtoms were common to the Jews with the reſt of the World, therefore they are call'd the Elements of the World, and weak and beggarly Elements, and carnal Ordinances, that were impos'd and born with till the time of the Reformation, in the Apoſtolical Writings, when they would beat down the value of the *Moſaick* Law.

But to omit the reſt, I ſhall only inſiſt upon the *Cherubin*, that God commanded to be placed over the Ark, *Exod.* 25. 18. and all Divine Worſhip to be directed towards them, *And thou ſhalt make two Cherubins of Gold, of beaten work ſhalt thou make them, in the two ends of the Mercy ſeat*, &c.

That they were Statutes or Images is out of doubt by their Diſcription, but of what particular Form is matter of Controverſie among learned Men; tho what ever they were, I am not concerned; it is enongh that they were

Images

Images used in the Worship of God, and then the use of Images is not in it self Idolatry.

That the Word originally and properly signifies an *Ox*, is evident from *Ezekiel*, who uses the Words promiscuously, *Chap.* 1. 10. As for the likness of their Faces, *They four had the Face of a Man, and the Face of a Lyon on the Right side, and they four had the face of an Ox on the left side, they four also had the face of an Eagle*: but *Chap.* 10. 14. the same things are thus described, *And every one had four faces; the first Face was the face of a Cherub, the second the face of a Man, the third of a Lyon, and the fourth of an Eagle.* And as an Ox or a Cherub was used by the Ancients as a Symbol of Strength or Power, so thence came they to signifie the thing it self; so God tells the King of *Tyre*, that he was his anointed Cherub, *i. e.* that he had made him great and powerful. *Eze.* 28. 14

Hence whenever God in Scripture is said to sit upon, or dwell between the Cherubins, it is when his Power particularly is represented. Thus when the *Israelites* were defeated by the *Philistins*, they agree at a Council of War to send for the Ark of God to save them out of the hands of their Enemies; 1 *Sam.* 4. 3, 4. So the people sent to *Shiloh*, that they

they might bring from thence the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord of Hosts, who dwelleth between the Cherubins. So King *Hezekiah* in his Distress calling upon the Divine Protection and Deliverance from his Enemy; And *Hezekiah* prayed before the Lord, and said, O Lord God of Israel, that dwellest between the Cherubins, thou alone art God of all the Kingdoms of the Earth; 2 *King.* 19. 15. So *Psal.* 99. 1. The Lord reigneth, let the People tremble; he sitteth between the Cherubins, let the Earth be moved.

And for this reason were these sacred Images placed over the Ark, as the Symbols or Hieroglyphicks, to represent the Presence of the Divine Majesty: so that as the Ark is styled God's *Foot-stool*, the Cherubins are called his *Throne:* And so when the Ark and Cherubins were brought into the Temple, this Anthem was sung; *Psal.* 24. 78. 'Lift 'up your Heads, O ye Gates, and be lifted 'up, ye everlasting Doors, and the King of 'Glory shall come in: who is this King of Glo-'ry? the Lord of Hosts, the Lord strong and 'mighty, the Lord mighty in Battle.

In short these Images were the most sacred things in all the Jewish Religion; what they were, I will not determine; some will have them

them to have been Statures of Beautiful Youths (as they are now vulgarly represented:) Others, the Statue of a young Bullock, from the synonymous signification of the Words: But the * most learned conclude them, as they suppose with good Authority from the Scriptures, not to have been any one certain Form, but mixt of several Forms, in which that of a Bullock had the biggest share; but compounded of these four shapes, a Man's Face, an Eagles Wings, a Lyons Back, an Oxes or Bullocks Thighs and Feet. As they are described in the forecited chapters of *Ezekiel*, 1. and 10. And to this no doubt St. *John* alludes in his Vision of the Four Beasts, *Rev.* 4. 6. 7. Round about the Throne were four Beasts; and the first Beast was like a Lyon, and the second like a Calf, and the third had a face as a Man, and the fourth was like a flying Eagle. And they rest not day and night, saying, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come.

* *Grotius* Dr. *Spencer*, *Villalpandus*. *Bochartus*.

In Allusion, 'tis no doubt, to the representation of the immediate Divine Presence in the Ark by the Cherubins, that were made up of these four Beasts, that were probably

pitcht

pitcht upon, becauſe of that great prehemi-nence that they hold above all other Orders of Creatures. A Man for Underſtanding, an Eagle for Swiftneſs, a Lyon and a Bull for Strength.

But what ever they were, they were ſacred Images ſet up by God himſelf in the place of his own Worſhip; and he was ſo far from forbidding the uſe of Images in it, that he would not be worſhiped without them.

This is the true Account of Idolatry, as it is ſtated in the Scripture from the grand deſign of the *Moſaick* Law, to reſtore the Worſhip of the true inviſible God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, in oppoſition to the Idols, or created Deities of the Heathen World, and by all wiſe Arts and Methods to keep them loyal to himſelf: And this gives us the true *Rationale* of the *Moſaick* Law, in which every particular Rite had ſome regard to Idolatry. So that the breach of any one ceremonial Law was a degree of it; and to boil a Kid in its Mothers Milk was Idolatry, as well as to offer Sacrifice to the Sun, becauſe the Heathens uſed that form of Ceremony in the Worſhip of that God.

God did not think it ſufficient for their ſecurity to forbid them the worſhip of this falſe

God, but every minute Circumſtance that belonged to it, leſt by degrees they might be reconciled to it. And therefore GOD calls himſelf upon all Occaſions a *jealous* God, and oftentimes a *jealous Husband*. to let them know, that they muſt not only avoid Idolatry it ſelf, but all the leaſt appearances and ſuſpicions of it by Heathen Compliances.

Now if we compare this ancient Idolatry of the Jews, with that of late charged by ſome men upon all Chriſtians of the Roman Communion, I know not which will appear greateſt, the Malice or the Folly of the Charge. It conſiſts of theſe three Heads.

I. *The Worſhip of Images.*

II. *Adoration of the Hoſt.*

III. *Invocation of Saints.*

All which are repreſented to the People as Crimes of the ſame Nature with the old Egyptian Idolatry.

But as to the firſt, the uſe of Images in the Worſhip of God, I cannot but admire at the Confidence of theſe Men, to make ſo bold a Charge

Charge againſt them in General, when the Images of the Cherubin were commanded by God himſelf; *Exod.* 25. 22.

They were the moſt ſolemn and ſacred part of the Jewiſh Religion; and therefore, tho Images, ſo far from Idolatry, that God made them the *Seat* of his Preſence, and from between them delivered his Oracles; ſo that ſomething more is required to make Idolatry, than the uſe of Images.

This Inſtance is ſo plain and obvious to every Reader, there being nothing more remarkable in all the old Teſtament, than the Honour done to the Cherubin, that 'tis a much greater Wonder to me, that thoſe Men, who advance the Objection of Idolatry ſo groundleſly, can ſo ſlightly rid themſelves of ſo pregnant a proof againſt it.

It is objected, I remember, by a learned Adverſary, to the great Founder of this, and all other *Anticatholique*, and *Antichriſtian*, and uncharitable Principles among us; but he turns it off ſo careleſly, as if it were not worth his Notice. *Firſt*, That they only directed their worſhip towards the Images. Yea they did ſo, as the Symbols of GOD's

*Dr. St. of the Idolatry of the Church of Rome.*

Presence, and that is to Worship God by Images, or to give the same Signs of Reverence to his Representations, as to Himself. And therefore when *David* exhorts the People to give Honour to the Ark, he says, προσκυνειτε bow down to, or worship his *Foot-stool, for It, or He, is holy.*

And if so much outward Worship may be given to Images, as Symbols of the Divine Presence, it is enough to justifie it. But however the thing stands, the case of all Images is the same, and a Roman Catholique may make the same Plea for his Church, as this Author does for the Jews; and if he accepts in one Case, he cannot refuse it in another; or if he does, he will give but little proof of his Integrity.

At least God was not so nice and metaphysical in enacting his Laws by distinguishing between bowing to, and towards; or if these Gentlemen say, he was, they must shew us where. But what Authority do these Men assume to themselves, when by the precarious use of these two little Particles, they think to make the same Act the Whitest, and the Blackest thing in the World, *towards* an Image, 'tis innocent; *to it*, Idolatry?

But

But let them take which they pleaſe (for they are their own Carvers in all their own Controverſies) If it be no Idolatry to Worſhip towards an Image, after all their Frights, they fairly give up the Cauſe to the Church of *Rome*, that requires no more.

But the ſecond Reply is much more curious and metaphyſical, that the Cherubins were not ſeen by the People, and adored but once a year by the High Prieſt: Here then we diſtinguiſh between the Idolatry of the *Sight* and the *Mind;* an Image *ſeen* is *Idolatry*, but it *covered*, 'tis *none*. So that to adore the Hoſt expoſed, is *Idolatry*; but in a Pix, 'tis *none*. What Rubbiſh is here to ſtuff out ſo weighty an Argument!

But if they did not *ſee* their Images in the Ark, they knew them to be there, and of what Form they were, being deſcribed to them by God himſelf in their Law. Upon theſe Terms it ſeems a Blind Man can never be an Idolater; and if all the Romaniſts would ſhut their Eyes at convenient Times, they would quit themſelves of this black Accuſation.

But the High Prieſt uſed this Solemnity only once a year. If it were Idolatry, it was

as

as unlawful once a year, as if done every day; and if lawfully done but once a year, it was no Idolatry: Its being seldom or frequent, makes no difference; it is either always Idolatry, or it is never so.

And yet these little Pretences are the last Result of this great Argument; and when we have loaded the greatest part of Christendom with the foulest Crime in the World, we think to make good the Accusation by such shameless Shifts and Pretences as these; for in these Trifles, the Dispute, as to the Cherubin Images, ended; and yet the Clamour of Idolatry is kept up as high as ever to this very day.

But what Images do the Roman Catholicks worship? Do they worship any Image or Symbols of *False Gods*, as the *Supreme Deities*? If they do not, then they are innocent of the worst part of Idolatry. Or do they attempt to make a *Similitude* of the *true God*, or *uncreated Divine Nature*? That its the other part of Idolatry, and the Scripture knows no more; therefore however superstitious they may be in their use of Images, yet they cannot be guilty of Idolatry, but upon one of these Two Accounts, which no Man was ever yet so hardy as to charge upon that Church. Till

Till therefore it be proved that they worship Images of false Gods as the Supreme Deities, or that they worship the true God by Corporeal Images and Representation of his Divine Nature, there is no Footing for Idolatry in Christendom.

As for the Adoration of the Host, when they can prove 'tis given to it either as a Symbol of a false God, or the picture of the true one,, howsoever faulty it may be otherwise, it can be no Idolatry.

And as for the Invocation of Saints, unless they worship them as the *Supreme God*, the Charge of Idolatry is an idle Word, and the Adoration it self that is given to them as Saints, is a direct Protestation against Idolatry, because it supposes a *Superiour Deitie*, and that Supposition cuts off the very being of Idolatry.

But to give an Account of their precarious Notions of Idolatry, and their more precarious ways of proving it, would swell to Volumes; and therefore at present I shall dismiss the Argument, and shall only observe what a Barbarous Thing it is to make the *Lives*, *Fortunes* and *Liberties* of the English *Nobility* and *Gentry* to depend upon such Trifles and Crudities, by remarking the unheard of and unparallel'd Penalties that are annexed to so slender a Law, *viz.*

*That every Offender shall be deemed and adjudged a Popish Recusant convict to all Intents and Purposes whatsoever, and shall forfeit and suffer as a* Popish Recusant *convict, and shall be disabled to hold any Office of Place of Trust or Profit, Civil or Military, in any of his Majesties Realms or foreign Plantations; And shall be disabled from thenceforth to Sit or Vote in either House of* Parliament, *or make a* Proxy *in the* House *of* Peers, *or to sue, or use any Action, Bill,* Plaint *or Information in Course of Law; or to prosecute any* Suit *in any* Court *of Equity, or to be* Guardian *of any* Child, *or* Executor *or* Administrator *of any Person, or capable of any Legacy or Deed of Gift; and lastly, shall forfeit for every wilful Offence, the* Sum *of* Five Hundred Pounds.

Here are all the Punishments that can be inflicted upon a *living Man.*

Convict Recusancy it self, one would think, is Punishment more than enough for any one Crime: 35 Eliz. cap 1. *Abjuration of the Realm; Returning without leave, Felony without Clergy; upon refusing to abjure, Forfeiture of all Goods, Chattels and Lands for Life.*

*Fur-*

*Forfeiture of Sixty Pounds* per Annum 3 Jacob. cap. 4. *Baniſhment from the Kings. Court under Forfeiture of an Hundred Pounds, and from* London *on the ſame penalty, Forfeiture of Right of Patronage, Diſabled from any Practice or Office in Law, and finally diſabled to be Guardian. Executor or Adminſtrator, and Legatee.*

This was thought the utmoſt Severity in the Zealous days of Queen *Elizabeth*; but alas! our Modern Zeal will not be confined to the gentle Moderation of our Fore-fathers; but now we muſt ſuffer all theſe, with many more, to the loſs of our *Birth-rights*, and all *Benefits of Law*, for no higher Act of *Recuſancy*, than not ſwearing to the Truth of Dr. *St*'s *Unlearned* and *Fanatique Notion* of *Idolatry*; for that in reality is the bottom of all this Miſchief and Madneſs.

And as it is advanced among us into ſo bloody a Charge; I cannot but declare my utter Abhorrence both of that, and its Abetters, as ſworn Enemies to the Peace of Chriſtendom; and in the Reſult of all, I find, *That Idolatry made the Plot, and the Plot made Idolatry, and that the ſame Perſons made both*

Thus begging Allowance for Humane Infirmities, leſſer Errors and Miſtakes, which in

ſo

so much variety of Argument and Citation will escape the greatest Care, I have declared my present Judgement of this unhappy Law, as I will answer for my Integrity to God and the World.

*SA. OXON.*

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FINIS.

23 AP 57

# BROAD SCOTCH,

ADDRESSED

TO ALL

# TRUE SCOTS MEN.

EDINBURGH,
Printed in the Year MDCCXXXIV.

BRITISH MUSEUM

# BROAD SCOTCH,

ADDRESS'D to all

# True *SCOTS* MEN.

*My dear Countrymen,*

IT is a vulgar, and I fear too true a Saying, concerning our national Character, that we are *Wise behind the Hand.* Numberless are the Evils which have been with good Reason prophesied to us, and which have actually befallen us, thro' Want of Consideration before we enter'd upon Measures of Importance. These very Reasons, join'd to a little *woful Experience,*

have made us ſenſible of our Errors when it was paſt our Power to mend them.

In no Period of our Hiſtory can a Point of Time be aſſign'd when it was more the Buſineſs of *Scots* Men to ſtand ſtill a little and look before them, than it is at this Moment. We are not far from the Brink of a Precipice, and the Queſtion is, Whether we will go forward, or turn aſide to avoid it?

Let us examine our ſelves with Attention and Courage. We are conſcious of our ill Situation, but we are unwilling to enter into Particulars, for Fear of being driven to pronounce Sentence againſt our ſelves. That, my Countrymen, is the Road which leads to our Deſtruction. Before we can amend, we muſt not only become our own Accuſers, but we muſt alſo hear what our Neighbours ſay of us.

We have often complained of the Uſage we have met with from our Siſter of *England*. We ſay, that the near and indiſſoluble Relation which is between us, and that glorious Cauſe which links us together, and makes our Intereſts inſeparable, *The Cauſe of Liberty*, ought to obtain for us better Conditions. Perhaps theſe Complaints are juſt: But let us not be ſo partial to our ſelves, as to deny a Poſſibility,

ty, that there are likewiſe Faults on our Side.

It is now Twelve long Years ſince our Countrymen in a certain Place (a few excepted) have been a certain Gentleman's ſureſt Body-Guard. The People of *England* have long ſeen their Danger, nor have honeſt Hands been wanting to ring the Alarm-Bell. What their true Opinion of that Gentleman's Conduct is, no Artifice can hide. The Voice of the Nation makes itſelf to be heard. And allow me to ſay, that a People who are generally no Fools, and who boaſt of that invaluable Privilege of thinking for themſelves, are not often miſtaken concerning their true Intereſts.

Let us ask our ſelves this Queſtion, Whether, all this While, we have even contented our ſelves with being *Spectators* of this Scene? GOD knows if our Dwelling is ſafe, when the Houſe of ſo near a Neighbour is on Fire; or, whether *Scotland* can be free, if *England* is enſlav'd. But have we not beheld the Ship ſinking, without giving our Aſſiſtance to ſtop the Leak? On the contrary, have we not lent our Hands to widen it? Is there a Man in *Great Britain* ignorant of this Truth, That, would the *Scots* joyn their

Numbers

Numbers to those who labour hard to save the Vessel, she might still be sound and well? What has given the grand Projector Assurance of Success in his ruinous Schemes, but his Dependence on our Countrymen, to secure to himself Impunity? Substract them, and throw them on the other Side, Justice would quickly have her Course.

The Malt-Tax is justly reckon'd too hard a Burden upon us. A Burden beyond our Ability to bear. The History of that Tax may be easily recollected. It has been imposed by Parliament from Year to Year, since 1713. but the Managers of the Revenue, out of a just Sense of our Poverty, and that it was vain to seek Money where there was none to be found; or, at least, that taking more than our Country could afford, would land in disabling us from paying that or any other Tax, forbore to levy the Sums imposed. In the ever memorable Time I have mentioned, this Tax was riveted down upon us, and the Indulgence of former Times denied to us. It was indeed *seemingly* alleviated: We were to pay no greater Sum than *TWENTY THOUSAND POUNDS A YEAR, CERTAIN AND NEAT.* Thank GOD! this Tax is only temporary,

and

and as we now shew our selves to be good and loyal Subjects, by waiting patiently till the Wisdom of the Nation shall listen to our Grones, and commiserate our Circumstances, so we ought to prepare, and not to be wanting to our selves, that our true Case may be known in Parliament. We all know and feel, that this Sum of 30000 *L.* yearly, has already well nigh undone us, and that the Continuation of it must complete our Ruin. We have good Arguments, in Plenty, to convince the thinking Part of the *English*, that it is by no Means safe for them to undo us. If *Scotland* is once render'd *inevitably* mercenary, mercenary *for downright Hunger*, the Liberties of *England* will soon feel the Effects of it.

But to whom are any Arguments of ours to be addressed? We cannot with Colour of Reason say, that we can plead Favour with those whom we alone keep from being a Majority, without offering to do our Duty, and joyn them. Let one of our selves think as in their Place, and give his Answer. Would it not be this? Let the Man whom you stand by, stand by you: He has often used you only to ward Blows aim'd at himself: Now ward, if you can, the Blows which he aims at you.

You

You have it in your Power to ſave your ſelves, by withdrawing from the Common Enemy, and joining in Meaſures which your Oppoſition only retards, and which Meaſures only can retrieve you from Deſtruction at laſt.

THIS then is our only ſafe, our only honourable Game. *Hapleſs Scotland*! if inſtead of this, our Applications ſhall be made to that very Perſon whoſe Intereſt it is to carry on the Scheme, what has happen'd, may happen again. We all remember, my Countrymen, (and would to GOD we may never forget) his Anſwers. He pretended the greateſt Friendſhip to us, but that the Clamour of the People of *England* had made it impoſſible for him to ſave us any longer.

RIDICULOUS! ſhameleſs! incredible! Was his Influence leſs in that Year than it was for three Years before? Was it leſs than the Intereſt of his Predeceſſors in Office had been, from the 1713. downwards? They had the Intereſt (or at leaſt the Addreſs) to do this good Thing for the Nation in general, That the Tax impoſed ſhould not be levied to our Undoing. We have ſeen, and felt but too convincingly, that his Influence at that Time could have compaſſed harder Things than to ſave us.

If there was any such Demand among the People of *England*, what gave Riſe to it? How had we become more obnoxious to our Neighbours than we were in the preceeding Year? We all know, that if there was any Rancour in their Minds, it proceeded from the implicite and unſeaſonable Aſſiſtance given to the ſame Gentleman, in one of his Jobbs, a little While before. Thus we were firſt induced to ſin, and then abandon'd to Puniſhment. Had we been leſs obſequious to him, or he more grateful to us, this had not befallen us. And yet there are Men who have the Front to ſay, that that Gentleman could not help what happened to us.

These *ſacred Truths* he has ſolemnly aſſerted to ſome of our well-meaning Countrymen; but let us only liſten to Facts; theſe ſpeak for themſelves. Political Proteſtations prove nothing at any Time; but when the Proteſtation is contradicted by Actions, he is wilfully blind who believes them.

Let us too ſcrutinize the Behaviours of the Sub-operators, our own Countrymen. Let us remember thoſe who gave their Countenance to this pernicious Alternative. Some of them were miſled in Judgment, and honeſtly (I hope) acted for the

Beſt; who did ſo, who did otherwiſe, let it be tried by a Jury of their whole Peers; let the whole Body of their Country compare their Proceedings before and after, in order to judge of their Motives, in taking this melancholly Step; and if they now refuſe us their helping Hand, let us not join to the Folly of having truſted ſuch Men, once or oftner, the much greater Folly, join'd with Infamy, of truſting them again.

But above all, let us not forget the known Conductor (among our Countrymen) of this Contrivance; the grand Artiſt owes much to *Scotland*, but leſs than the other.

If this Burden ſhall, after all our Endeavours, be continued upon us for one Year more, let us lay our Hands upon our Mouths, till another proper Opportunity offers for remonſtrating againſt it; and, if the ſame two Gentlemen, of whoſe good Offices we have formerly had Experience, ſhould perſevere in their unwearied Benevolence, let us, upon all Occaſions, ſhew a proportional Return of Gratitude to them.

Yet, my Countrymen, I have lived to ſee Panegyricks upon the Malt-Tax, I have known it maintain'd, that *the Appropriation of certain Funds* (of which the Sur-

Surpluſage of the Malt-Tax is one) *for encouraging our Fiſheries and Manufactories, is the greateſt national Good that has been done for us ſince the Union of the two Crowns.* I have likewiſe heard the faint Beginnings of our Thriving attributed to a certain Perſon, who has been *the Bane of* Scotland, and who may prove us to be a Nation of Ideots, if we believe and ſwallow ſuch a Bundle of Falſhood and Abſurdity.

By the 15th Article of the Union, the Produce of our Cuſtoms, and Exciſe on Liquors, are jointly valued at 63500 *L. Sterl.* yearly: But as it was poſſible that they might produce much more, it was agreed, that beſides the Equivalent Money, properly ſo called, an Equivalent ſhould be due to *Scotland* every Year, when the Produce of the Cuſtoms and Exciſe ſhould exceed the computed Sum. According to that Article, it was not at all material to *Scotland*, whether the Revenue ſhould be higher than 63500 *L.* or not, for we were intitled to an Equivalent for the Surplus of each Year.

Among other Clauſes in the ſame Article, That 2000 *L.* yearly, it is provided, for ſeven Years, ſhould be applied towards the Encouragement of the Manufacture of

coarſe Wooll, and for ever afterwards 2000 *L.* yearly, is to be applied towards encouraging and promoting the Fiſheries, and other Manufactures of *Scotland*. The Money due to the Woollen-Manufactures, never was applied till 1727. but lay dead. The annual Payments of 2000 *L.* yearly, to the other Manufactures, were alſo neglected. And it ſeems plain, that beſides 14000 *L.* owing to the Woollen-Manufactures, there was due in 1727. to the other Manufactures of *Scotland*, more than 26000 *L.*

In the Year 1719. theſe particular yearly Equivalents ſeem'd, to the Wiſdom of the Nation, perplexing and intricate; and therefore a Sum of 12000 *L.* was fix'd upon, as the perpetual yearly Equivalent due to *Scotland*: Of this Sum, 2000 *L.* is directed to be wholly applied towards the Encouragement and promoting the Fiſheries, and ſuch other Manufactures and Improvements in *Scotland*, as may moſt conduce to the general Good of the united Kingdom. Since that Act, ſhould the Cuſtoms and Exciſe produce 100000 *L.* yearly, all we can have, for the Equivalent, is only 12000 *L.*

The Malt-Tax was not attempted to be levied in *Scotland*, till the Year 1725. and that we were poor, (which prudent Conſider-

Conſideration hindred the levying of it before) was at that Time allowed to be true; wherefore, only Three Pence *per* Buſhel, inſtead of Six Pence, was impos'd, to the Purpoſe of raiſing 20000 *L. free of all Charges*; and, if the Produce fell ſhort, there was to be a Surcharge.

But it quickly appeared, That this bitter Pill would not go down without gilding. *Scotland* ſhew'd a Senſe of her Gratitude to her good Friends; and it was evident, that unleſs the Minds of *Scots* Men were ſoften'd, the levying of ſuch a Tax, would raiſe a Ferment, which it might not be very eaſy to lay.

This Year the Tax produced nothing; the next it was laid on as before, but with a *Proviſo*, that the Surpluſage ſhould be applied towards encouraging and promoting the Fiſheries, and ſuch other Manufactures of *Scotland*, as might moſt conduce to the general Good of the united Kingdom, in ſuch Manner as ſhould be afterwards ſettled by the Parliament.

But, all this while, no particular Plan was laid down for applying the Surpluſage, or the other Funds deſtin'd by the Treaty of Union, and the Act 1719. for Improvement of our Manufactures; and therefore his late Majeſty, by his moſt gracious Letter

to

to the Convention of Royal Boroughs, met in *July*, 1726. was pleaſed to recommend to them, to deviſe a Method for applying theſe Sums. The Convention, agreeable to the Royal Command, concerted a Plan, and took upon themſelves the Burden of all the Charges which the Management of theſe Sums might occaſion.

WHILE the Nation was attentive to the Proceedings of the Convention, (which were not finiſhed till *November*) the levying of the Tax went on. And, next Seſſion of Parliament, two Acts were paſs'd, one for Regulation of the Linen and Hempen Manufactures in *Scotland*, and the other for promoting Fiſheries, and other Manufactures and Improvements in that Kingdom; by which laſt his Majeſty was empower'd to lay down a Plan, and to fix Rules and Regulations for applying the Funds already mentioned to their ſeveral Uſes.

ACCORDINGLY a Patent was paſt, conſtituting One and twenty Gentlemen Truſtees, for the Purpoſes of the different Statutes. And in this Patent a Plan was eſtabliſhed, into the Particulars of which it is needleſs here to enter; only this Deduction ſeem'd neceſſary, that the cloſe Connection

nection between *the Malt-Tax*, and our *boaſted national Benefits*, might appear.

THE 2000 *L.* yearly was *our own*, ſtipulated for us at the Union, to be made applicable to our Manufactures. In 1726. 26000 *L.* (*at leaſt*) was owing to this Appropriation, of which only 6000 *L.* was made forthcoming; the other 20000 *L.* is ſtill *ſomewhere or other*. Had our Friends, in a certain Place, got for us our juſt Demands of 26000 *L.* and join'd that to *our* 2000 *L. per Annum*, there would have been a yearly Fund of 3300 *L.* for Encouragement of our Manufactures. Then we ſhould, without Scruple, have acknowledged our Gratitude, and have reckon'd that to be publick Spirit, which was barely but paying *a Part* of a juſt Debt.

THE 14000 *L.* too was *ours*, and what no Man could juſtly withhold from us. Our Woollen Manufactures, it is true, have felt but little Benefit from it hitherto: But have we Reaſon to thank any Man who ſhall diſſwade us from trying to make ſomething of our Wooll, and rather to manufacture it ourſelves, than to run into that deſtructive, but, in ſuch a Caſe, inevitable Practice of ſelling it to the *French* or *Dutch*, to the infinite Loſs of the united Kingdom? Surely not.

THE

The Surpluſage of the Malt-Tax was *ours*, as the Surpluſage of every Tax ought to be. The Malt-Tax is, my Countrymen, as I have ſaid, only an annual Burden; were it perpetual, ſtill we might uſe the common Rights of Subjects, by ſhewing our Arguments againſt it. And what better Argument can there be againſt any Tax than Inability to pay it? But whatever is in that, if we were to pay the Deficiency *under* 20000 *L.* by a *Surcharge*, who can deny that the *Surpluſage* over that Sum ought to be our own? This yearly 2000 *L.* then, this 6000 *L.* this 14000 *L.* and this *beneficial* Surpluſage of the Malt-Tax, were all *our own Money*.

Can we then patiently hear it ſaid, *That the Application of the ſaid Funds, for encouraging our Fiſheries and Manufactures, is the greateſt national Good that has been done for this Country, ſince the Union of the two Crowns.* Nothing can be more evidently fallacious, ſince it leaves out one Side, and that the rugged Side of the Account, *the Malt-Tax.* The Writers on that Side aver, that we have hitherto made nothing on the Wooll. That we made nothing on the Fiſhery, is but too certain. If then, according to

their

their favourite Scheme, our whole Fund of 4000 *L.* yearly, (I include the 20000 *L.* which is not yet given to us) were to be applied to the Linen alone, that Branch which *now* thrives, at a Charge of no more than 2650 *L.* would have 1350 *L.* yearly to ſpare to the reſt, without needing the Aid of this Surpluſage. And had this been the Plan, it would have been indeed the greateſt national Good done for this Country ſince the Union of the two Crowns, or before that Time; but, at preſent, this great national Good is clogg'd with one of the heavieſt national Burdens this Country ever felt ſince we have had a Name in Hiſtory.

And, after all, what Good has the Surpluſage hitherto done to us? Our Linen Manufactures begin to thrive. And there is a Spirit of further Improvement and Amendment in the Country. All this we grant with Delight. Long may the Spirit of Amendment prevail, and ſoon may its Effects be ſeen, in the Reformation of all our Errors and Miſtakes. Long may the Linen, and all the other Branches of our Commerce, flouriſh, and may we never ceaſe to be grateful to thoſe Lovers of their Country, who have been inſtrumental in encouraging them. If the

honourable Truſtees, have in ſome Particulars, ſhewn themſelves to be *fallible*; if in promoting the general Good, they have ſometimes had an Eye to private Intereſts; if theOffices,of which they have the Diſpoſal, have been thought as ſafe in the Hands of Perſons attach'd to a particular Set of Men, as in other Hands, or if Offices have been erected or diſpos'd of to Relations of leading Men in conſiderable Boroughs, whereby ſuch Towns might be ſecur'd to the Intereſt of ſome worthy and unbiaſs'd Gentlemen; theſe Eſcapes ought to be conniv'd at, in Regard of ſome greater Good, becauſe they are the inevitable Conſequences of the Powers lodg'd in them. But while we applaud the Behaviour of the Truſtees, while we feel the kindly Effects of their good Management, and thank our Stars that ſuch Conditions were (not obtain'd as Favours, but) ſtipulated for us upon valuable Conſiderations, we may reaſonably ask, By whoſe Means happen'd it, that *our own* Money could not be *ours*, unleſs we bought it with a Price? This Malt Surpluſage was given to encreaſe our Fund of Thriving; and no doubt, my Countrymen, many of you believe, or take for granted, that, without this Surpluſage, our Manufactures could

could not have gone on with Succeſs. This I have ſometimes heard; but if it ſhould be ever ſaid again, there is a good Anſwer to it, That the Fact is falſe. For hardly any Thing of this Surpluſage, has ever *hitherto* been applied for that Purpoſe; but the honourable Truſtees have *gone on, and proſper'd* with no other Funds, than *our own old Funds*, excluſive of the Surpluſage. Perhaps there may have been ſome few Hundreds of Pounds, ſince the Year 1727. brought in from the Surpluſage. Perhaps too it will be ſaid, that more than 16000 *L. Sterl.* is *now* in a Readineſs to be paid to the Truſtees out of that Fund, which I believe is true; but this I may aver, that without that 16000 *L.* or any (I mean any conſiderable) Part of the Surpluſage, our Manufactures have been brought to the Condition *in which they now are*, by *our old Funds alone.*

How abject then is all this Flattery! The fell'd Oak may ſprout again; but would ſhe aſcribe the Merits of her remaining Life to the Ax which wounded her? A Man may abſtain from wicked Actions, out of no better Principle than the Fear of Satan, and his Torments; but would

it therefore be reaſonable, that he ſhould addreſs his Adorations to the Devil?

We have all heard of *Rob Roy*; whether that Nickname has been given to him, becauſe he *robs* the *King*, or becauſe *Robin* aſſumes a *regal Power* within a conſiderable Territory, the *Criticks* muſt determine. But this we know of him, that he has been exceedingly grievous to his Neighbours, by levying oppreſſive Taxes (or Contributions) under the Colour of *keeping the Country*. This *good Country-Keeper*, one Day in his Walks, met *Andrew Scot* an honeſt Weaver, come of reputable People, but very poor. *Robin* demanded what Money he had about him, which, upon Enquiry, proved to be One and twenty Shillings. *Andrew* pleaded his Poverty, that this Guinea was all the free Stock he had in the World, and if it were taken from him, he and his Family muſt ſtarve. Well, ſays *Robin*, you have often heard of my Compaſſion and Clemency, and you ſhall have Experience of it. I have been much obliged to you, Maſter *Andrew*, and have wiſhed for an Opportunity to make you a Return, now thank God I have it. You are lazy, my honeſt Friend, you don't work hard enough, there is too much Money in your Pocket.

Pocket. Of theſe Twenty *Shillings*, in pure Pity, I ſhall eaſe you: The remaining Twelve-pence ſhall be your own. Go *Andrew*, be buſy with it; turn your Pence with the Sweat of your Brows; call in your Neighbours to be Witneſſes and Prompters of your Induſtry. I ſhall look in from Time to Time to ſee what you are a-doing. *Andrew* had now nothing for it, but to make the beſt of a bad Bargain. The Gentlemen thereabouts loved the poor Fellow, and encouraged him: One bought good Flax for him: Another ſaw it dreſt: A Third examin'd his Yarn: A Fourth told his Threads, and mark'd if he wrought Statuteably; and all of them overſaw his Book. Under theſe kind Managers *Andrew* began to pick up a little, when *Robin*'s Man, *Archie*, called upon him, What's become of my Maſter's Shilling? The Shilling, ſays *Andrew*, is now Eighteen Pence. You idle Rogue, *Archie* replies, Did not I tell you ſo? Is not all this owing to us? Get down on your Knees, you Dog, and cry, GOD bleſs your Honours.

Let us ſeparate, carefully, my Countrymen, our Gratitude to our Benefactors, from mean-ſpirited and hollow-hearted Acknowledgments to thoſe who never car'd

to

to oblige us. The one is very conſiſtent with the other. We all know where the Inclinations of the Country ly. Every Man meets it in private Converſation; and few ſcruple to join in it: But each Man fears his ſingle Weight cannot turn the Scale. Let every one act honeſtly, and accoording to the Dictates of his own Conſcience, the Scale will ſoon be turn'd. Your Enemies know you hate them, and deſpiſe you for your Want of Reſolution.

But now the Time is come, when it is neceſſary for you to determine your ſelves. Some Time ago would have been better, but it is never too late to thrive.

We heard in this Country what paſt in *England* concerning the Exciſe Scheme, with a Sort of ſtupid Inattention, as a Matter of no Moment to us. Never, my Countrymen, were we more deeply intereſted. Never was a beſotted Nation ſaved ſo providentially, without its Knowledge, nay, againſt its Will. The firſt Conſequence of it was inevitable, that the bonded Duties in a certain great trading Town would have been immediately called for, to the Amount of about 80000 *L.* It is needleſs to enter into a Detail, the Thing is well enough underſtood. Had this Sum been exacted, that Town muſt

have at laſt yielded to, and ſunk under ſo many repeted Preſſures. The ſame Waſp, whoſe Sting *Scotland* as well as ſhe has ſo often felt, would have had the Pleaſure to give her the finiſhing Stroke of Poiſon.

THE Projector of the Scheme gave it as a main Argument for carrying it through, That thereby the Taxes would be levied upon *Scotland* with greater Equality. Perhaps 30000 *L.* additional neat Money was meant, which, with the Malt-Tax, would have increas'd our Kindneſſes, chargeable to the Account of that Gentleman, to 50000 *L.* yearly. This, before the Act 1719. would not have been material, but, ſince that Time, our 12000 *L.* is all the Equivalent we could have expected for 30000 *L.* additional Burden. And it is reported, that, all this While, our Countrymen were amus'd in private, with Aſſurances, [illegible] they would joyn in the Project, the [illegible] ſhould not take Place in *Scotland*. Whether any was ſo good natured as to believe this indulgent Proteſtation, after another recent Example, I cannot tell: But this is the dreadful Proſpect which we *ought to have* view'd, and from this miſerable Situation the Spirit of our Neighbour Nation has reſcued us.

THIS

THIS is the Sum of our Obligations to *a certain Perſon*, and *his Undertaker for this Country*. Juſtice is loudly demanded by our Neighbours, and their Eyes are turned upon us, to wait our Motions. By declaring our true Thoughts, and well deſerved Reſentments; and, by joining the Aſſertors of their Country's Cauſe, we can, *without Diſpute*, decide the Cauſe of our good Friend in a Moment. *It is far from being certain, that our Aſſiſtance* (ſhould we be ſo infatuated, as to give it) *can ſave him*: And if he is left to the Puniſhment which hangs over him, every *Scots* Man muſt tremble to think what may become of us, as every *Scots* Man muſt reflect with Joy upon what we may expect from a grateful Nation which owes her Security to us.

PERHAPS it will be demanded, if we can be ſure that any Thing will be done for us, tho we ſhould declare for the honeſt Side in the Common Cau[illegible]eply, that we ſhall have *Probabili[illegible]*, *Reaſon* and *Merit* on our Side: But it would be an Anſwer worthy of a *Scots* Man, I do not know who will take off my Burden, but that Man ſhall not be forgetten who put it on.

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*F I N I S.*